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CONTENTS





Masterpieces of Oriental Art. 16

Late Mauryan or Early Śuṅga Ring-stones

By JOHN IRWIN

(PLATE I)

A CARVED ring-stone and fragment of a second similar stone, both probably of the late Mauryan or early Śuṅga period, are among minor antiquities of exceptional interest recently acquired by the Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum,[1] from the collection of Colonel D. H. Gordon, D.S.O., O.B.E. Both pieces were bought some years ago by Colonel Gordon from a local dealer in the Taxila area. Their special interest derives not only from fineness of craftsmanship but also from the fact that their use has remained an archæological problem for more than seventy years. A full description follows :—

A. Ring-stone : greyish-buff sandstone, highly polished. Carved in low relief, the upper surface having two concentric cable-edged bands filled with cross-and-reel motives (slightly pyramidal) ; the sides of the hole with four standing female nudes alternating with four flowering trees. The base and outer sides are left plain.

Outer diameter, 3·37 inches. Inner diameter, 1·06 inches. Depth, 1 inch. Weight, 8¾ ounces.

B. Fragment of ring-stone : pinkish-buff sandstone, highly polished. Carved in slightly deeper relief, the upper surface decoration being identical with A. A similar standing female nude appears on the side of the hole, but beside her, instead of a flowering tree, there is an Indian "honeysuckle" motive, partly visible. The base and outer side are left plain.

The following measurements are based on a reconstruction of the complete ring. Outer diameter, 3·37 inches. Inner diameter, 0·84 inches. Depth, 0·75 inches.

At least twelve ring-stones of the same type have been discovered at various sites in northern India, including seven in the Taxila area (Bhir mound 3, Sirkap 1, unrecorded Taxila site 1), two at Mathurā, and one each at Saheth-Maheth (Śrāvasti), Kadamkuan (Patna), and Sankisa.[2] The Kadamkuan stone is inscribed with the name *Viśākhasa*, in Brāhmī characters of the Aśokan period. These

[1] I.S. 82-1948.

[2] The references to all the ring-stones so far published are as follows : A. Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, vol. xi, 1880, pl. ix, 3 ; *Annual Report, A.S.I.*, 1920-21, pl. xvii, 29 and 30 ; *ibid*, 1927-28, pl. xx, 7 ; *ibid*, 1930-34, pl. cxxx, 1 and 2 ; *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, vol. iii, 1935, pl. xxx, 3.

ring-stones form a distinct group with many affinities; but there are also variations, the most significant being that two of them have sunk centres which are unperforated. The standing female nudes, depicted in the same stiff frontal pose, are repeated on all of them with the exception of the Kadamkuan stone, which is plain around the hole. It has been observed that these figures bear a close resemblance to those appearing on the well-known gold-leaf plaques found in tumuli at Lauriyā-Nandangaṛh[1] and Piprāwā,[2] usually thought to represent Fertility Goddesses of pre-Buddhist type.

When Cunningham published the first account of one of these ring-stones in 1880, he suggested that they may have "served some purpose for a lady's toilet". It is difficult to know whether he meant something in the nature of a cosmetic dish—of doubtful use when perforated—or whether he was employing Victorian phraseology for an article more precisely described as contraceptive. A. K. Coomaraswamy, in his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (1927),[3] was the first to stress the importance of these ring-stones from the point of view of art history. He thought they were "large earrings . . . not larger or heavier than many of those represented in the early reliefs". A few years later Sir John Marshall gave special attention to them, hoping that they would help to throw light on the innumerable ring-stones of a cruder type found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā.[4] Despite the differences, he believed that they were related in function as *yonis*, or female symbols of generation. This identification is supported by Colonel Gordon, who thinks that they may have been used in some domestic ritual intended to bestow potency on the male organ.

In view of the rarity of Mauryan works of art other than monumental sculpture, the importance of these acquisitions to the Victoria and Albert Museum cannot be overstressed. Marshall remarked of the Bhiṛ mound stones that: "For jewel-like workmanship and exquisite finish, these two objects are unsurpassed by any other specimens of stonework from ancient India."[5] This was written in 1920–21, before the Harappan culture was known; but with the possible exception of some of the Harappan seals, Marshall's estimate holds good to-day.

[1] *Annual Report, A.S.I.*, 1906–7, p. 122, fig. 4.
[2] *Annual Report, A.S.I.*, 1935–36, pl. xxiii (a).
[3] p. 20.
[4] *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation*, vol. i, 1931, pp. 62–3.
[5] *Annual Report, A.S.I.*, 1920–21, p. 21.

Notes On Early Chinese Voyages

By J. V. Mills

(PLATE II)

[The writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to the Trustees of the British Museum for permitting the publication of the plate, and to the Librarian of the Library of Congress at Washington for supplying photostat copies of Chinese texts.]

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CYB. *The China Year Book*, 1936.

CYM. Chu Yün Ming. "Ch'ien Wên Chi" (c. 1526), in *Chi lu hui pien* (c. 1617), ch. 202, fol. 36V.

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FIN. Ferrand, G. *Instructions Nautiques* (1928).

FKL. —— "Le K'ouen-louen (extrait du *Journal Asiatique*, 1919).

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IN the present brief paper an attempt is made to weave together in a small composite picture the main facts relating to this important subject, certain aspects of which have been studied in detail by scholars such as Professor Duyvendak, Pelliot, and Ferrand: many problems, however, remain unsolved.

Unless otherwise indicated, Chinese words are transliterated according to the system of Giles' *Chinese-English Dictionary*, though conventional forms, such as "Amoy", are used for certain place-names. Chinese Emperors are designated, conveniently if incorrectly, by their dynastic titles. The three principal features appear to be naval activity, dispatch of official embassies, and merchant shipping.

THE FIRST PERIOD—BEFORE THE 7TH CENTURY A.D.—SLOW BEGINNINGS

The Chinese first reached the sea-coast in the vicinity of the Yangtze Kiang probably about 1200 B.C.[1] By Confucian times (551–479 B.C.) navigation was highly developed in the principalities at the mouth of the river,[2] and during the following centuries a great extension of navigation took place in the country of Ch'i,[3] the modern Shantung. In 473 B.C. that Kingdom defeated the Kingdom of Wu (commanding the lower Yangtze valley) in a sea-

[1] W. 12. [2] FIN. 88–9.

fights.[1] The Kingdom of Yüeh (the modern Chekiang) also had a navy, in 472 B.C.[2] In the fourth century B.C., the Chinese for the first time speak of navigation on the high seas.[3] In 219 B.C. an expedition from the country of Ch'i reached Japan: from which it may apparently be concluded that sea-navigation was widely opened along the North part of the China coast by that time.[4] A coasting-trade between Canton and Tongking must have existed even before the Chinese conquest of Tongking, in the second century B.C.: after the conquest, regular trade relations were established.[5] During the period 140–86 B.C., the Han Emperor Wu Ti sent envoys by sea to the Kingdom of Huang Chih, which Ferrand identified with Kanchipura (i.e. Conjevaram, forty-six miles south-west of Madras), the then capital of the Pallava Dynasty.[6]

This, thought Pelliot, proves at the very least that in the first century B.C. a Chinese mission, by order of the Court, traversed the Indian Ocean on ships of the "barbarians".[7] The sea-route to and from the West was open.[8] From this time onward China participated in the maritime, economic, and diplomatic activity of India, Indonesia, and other countries.[9] The Chinese embassies were often, perhaps always, organized on a somewhat grandiose scale: for instance, at least twenty-five vessels were required to accommodate the embassy sent by the Yüan Emperor Timur to Sultan Ghazan of Khwarizm (i.e. Khiva), in or about A.D. 1301.[10] From the beginning of the Christian era there existed a Javanese, a Khmer, a Cham, and a Chinese navy: and the peoples of the maritime countries from Tongking to Java, from Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula to the Moluccas, made almost continual attacks upon each other.[11] China became involved in this fighting since it ruled Tongking, which was "pacified" in A.D. 44 by the Chinese General Ma Yüan: he had a fleet of 2,000 ships.[12] During the period 245–250 the Wu Emperor Ch'ih Wu sent a Chinese mission by sea to Funan (i.e. Siam-Cambodia) under K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying.[9] In 359 a Chinese fleet under the Chinese Governor of Tongking, Wên Fang Chih, took part in an expedition against the Chams, and in 407 a Chinese fleet under Admiral Yüan Fei devastated the coast of Champa.[13]

[1] W. 13. [2] W. 12. [3] FIN. 88–9.
[4] FIN. 89–90; W.13. [5] HR. 6. [6] FKL. 196–7; 203–4.
[7] Pelliot in *T'oung Pao* (1912), 460–1. [8] DCD. 12. [9] FKL. 219.
[10] E. III. 47. [11] FKL. 87–8. [12] FKL. 125.
[13] FKL. 129.

The popularity of Buddhism at this time induced many Chinese to visit India.[1] In 414 the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hsien, who had travelled to India by land, returned by sea from Tamralipti (Tamluk, in Bengal) viâ Ceylon to China: he is usually thought to have travelled by the Strait of Sunda to Java (Yeh P'o T'i): there he embarked in a ship of P'o Lo Mên (i.e. "Brahman"), a name then used by the Chinese to designate the west coast of India.[2]

In 431 Fan Yang Mai ("prince of gold"), King of Champa, sent a fleet of over 100 ships fitted with turrets to attack the coasts of Tongking: later in the year the Tongkingese fleet defeated the Cham fleet in a naval battle.[3] It was probably during the period 420–479 that China first began to build craft for the sea-going trade.[4] By this time the ocean shipping between India and China had probably reached fairly extensive proportions[5]: but the commerce, Hirth and Rockhill thought, was in the hands of Arabs and Indians, not of Chinese: the latter still had very little intercourse with India and the West.[6] Although by about 520 the conditions of sea travel had so improved that a sea-journey was preferred to a land-journey between India and China,[7] and although the trade of China by sea with southern and western countries steadily increased,[8] yet its commercial and political relations in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries developed slowly,[9] and down to the sixth century no Chinese had penetrated to the Roman Orient (Ta Ch'in),[9] though in isolated cases Chinese may have reached Aden or the Persian Gulf.[10]

From the fifth to the twelfth century the Chinese method of sailing was as follows: ordinarily skippers guided themselves by land-marks: when they ventured out of sight of land they trusted to the regularity of the monsoons, and steered solely by the sun, moon, and stars: they presumably took soundings as frequently as possible. Messages were sent to land by carrier-pigeon.[11]

The Second Period. From the Seventh Century to A.D. 1127—Energetic Expansion

In the seventh century Chinese maritime activity began to manifest itself[12]: the Chinese were now the boldest navigators in the orient. their ships held 600 or 700 persons.[13]

[1] LTC. 105.
[2] HR. 7; FKL. 208.
[3] FKL. 130.
[4] W. 30.
[5] LTC. 159; HR. 7.
[6] HR. 7.
[7] FKL. 131.
[8] HR. 6–7.
[9] HR. 6.
[10] HR. 4.
[11] HR. 28.
[12] HR. 8.
[13] FIN. 74.

China had a considerable navy, which developed further during the following centuries.[1] In 605 the Sui Emperor Yang Ti dispatched Liu Fang with a Chinese fleet which inflicted a crushing defeat on the fleet of the Cham King Çambhuvarman (Fan Fan Chih of the Chinese records) who had been raiding the Chinese domains in Tongking.[2] In 606 a Chinese fleet ravaged "the island of Liu Ch'iu", in this case Formosa.[3]

Missions to and from the Court of China grew in frequency.[4] In 607 the Emperor Yang Ti sent a mission by sea under Ch'ang Chün to explore and enter into commercial relations with Ch'ih T'u ("Red Earth"),[5] a country in the region of P'at'alung, on the Gulf of Siam [6]: from the high honours conferred on the explorers, Hirth and Rockhill concluded that the exploit was regarded as extraordinarily daring [7]: presumably it was made in a Chinese ship.

About 647 the T'ang Emperor T'ai Tsung sent an embassy by sea under Wang Hsüan Ts'ê to Harsha Siladitya, King of Kanauj and Emperor of Northern India: the ambassador's escort was attacked by "A Lo Na Chouen", usurper of the throne of Kanauj, whereupon the ambassador captured the usurper and conducted him before the T'ang Emperor.[8]

In or about 663 a Chinese fleet defeated a Japanese fleet when the Chinese General Su Ting Fang was undertaking the conquest of Korea, on the order of the T'ang Emperor Kao Tsung.[9] Navigation continued to develop, largely through the instrumentality of the Arab traders.[4] Intercourse between China and India increased enormously: and there was frequent communication by sea viâ Malaysia.[10] The majority of Buddhist pilgrims now travelled by sea to India.[11]

The Buddhist monk I Tsing has left accounts of the voyages made by himself and by the pilgrim Wu Hsing. He himself, in 671, took twenty days to reach Palembang, fifteen days to reach Malayu (in the Jambi district of Sumatra), fifteen days to reach Kedah (in the Malay Peninsula), ten days to reach the Nicobar Islands, and fourteen days to reach Tamluk.[12] In the eighth century foreign trade had become important, and a Bureau of Merchant Shipping was

[1] FKL. 219. [3] FKL. 219; LTC. 179; CEH. 121; GH. II. 554.
[2] GH. I. 265. [4] CEH. 138. [5] HR. 8; GH. I. 265–6.
[6] CEH. 89. [7] HR 8. [8] GH. I. 272–3; PTP. (1933), 319, 449.
[9] LTC. 184; GH. I. 274. [10] DCD. 12; V. 18. [11] HR. 9.
[12] FKL. 208–9.

established at Canton,[1] which in the third century had become the terminal point of navigation from the south.[2]

The coastal wars continued: in 767 the Chinese Governor of Tongking, Chang Po I, repelled an attack by Malay and Javanese pirates, who had ascended the Red River as far as Hanoi.[3] In 809 a sea-fight probably took place when the Chinese Governor of Tongking, Chang Chou, invaded Champa and inflicted a heavy defeat on the Chams and their allies.[4] (In the following century Tongking became independent of China,[5] and thereafter fought its own battles.)

During the ninth century overseas trade began to move from Canton to Ch'üanchow, which for some centuries had had commercial intercourse with Japan and Korea. While the growth of trade had created big ports at both towns, the traffic at Ch'üanchow now increased remarkably.[6] Much of the coastwise shipping was controlled by Koreans.[7] It seems very doubtful whether many Chinese merchants journeyed to foreign lands during T'ang times; for at least a time the Emperor T'ai Tsung forbade Chinese to go abroad.[8] The T'ang Emperors (618–907) sent embassies to Japan, and intercourse between the Governments of the two countries was maintained.[9]

Under the Sung Dynasty (960–1127) the sea-trade became so important that it was made a Government monopoly, and private trading with foreigners was strictly forbidden.[10] Furthermore, the Government made strenuous efforts to increase the trade: between 984 and 987 the Sung Emperor T'ai Tsung dispatched a mission of eight officials to encourage the traders of the South Seas and the Chinese merchants who went abroad, to come to China.[11] Trade with Japan flourished,[12] while that with the South Seas reached very great proportions[13]: Bureaux of Merchant Shipping were established at Ch'üanchow (in 1087), Hangchow, and Ningpo[13]: though Canton was still the most prosperous of the Chinese ports in 1102,[14] Ch'üanchow later grew into one of the largest ports in the Far East, and became world-famous as "Zaytun".[15]

[1] TTC. 9; HR. 9. [2] TTC. 4. [3] CEH. 157–8; GH. II, 603; FKL. 132.
[4] FKL. 134. [5] CKH. 212. [6] TTC. 7, 12. [7] LTC. 194.
[8] LTC. 193. [9] LTC. 214. [10] HR. 19–20; DCD. 16. [11] TTC. 19; HR. 19.
[12] LTC. 230. [13] DCD. 16. [14] HR. 20.
[15] TTC. 12. Contra, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 69 (1949), 134, "Zayton" is identified with Hangchow.

Under the Sung Dynasty the construction of Chinese ships seems to have so much improved that foreigners preferred to travel in them: they were broad and almost square, and had a narrow keel: they carried up to 600 persons and were armed against pirates.[1] But the southern sea trade, confined by custom if not by law to Canton and Ch'üanchow, was still in the hands of Arabs and other foreigners in the twelfth century.[2]

The Third Period—A.D. 1127 to 1433—The Apogee

Under the Southern Sung Dynasty (1127–1279) the Chinese Empire began to be sea-minded.[3] Hangchow, one of the principal centres of navigation,[4] became the capital in 1135[5]: as "Quinsai", the city was "the finest and noblest in the world" for Marco Polo.[6] The Chinese began to venture out themselves.[7] Ships going to the Malay Peninsula were probably manned by Chinese crews.[7] The Chinese now for the first time controlled the sea-routes to the south-east and India.[8]

Chinese ships from Canton or Ch'üanchow took something over forty days to reach Lan Li (Lambri, i.e. Acheh) where the "winter" was spent: in the following "winter" a further voyage of a month took them to Quilon[9]: Chinese traders with big ships, who wished to go to the country of the Arabs (principally the Hadramaut coast of Arabia[10]), transhipped at Quilon into smaller ships: with a southerly wind they reached their destination in about one month. The journey to Arabia and back to China took about two years.[11] Traders also transhipped at Quilon to go to Chu Lien, the Chola country, principally Kaveripattanam, at one of the mouths of the River Kaveri.[12] The maritime trade with the countries of the Indian Ocean now reached its highest peak.[13] By the twelfth century Chinese navigation (about which there has been no information since the fifth century) had considerably improved: this was due principally to the adoption of the mariner's compass,[14] which the Chinese first used at the end of the eleventh century[15]: but the compass did not play the principal role in navigation: the ship-captains appear to have counted on the wind carrying them from one land-mark to another in a given time, and kept approximately on their course by means of the sun in the daytime and the stars at

[1] DCD. 18. [2] HR. 22. [3] DCD. 15. [4] DMH. 17. [5] GH. I. 277.
[6] LTC. 229. [7] DCD. 16. [8] LTC. 237. [9] HR. 89, 91. [10] HR. 120.
[11] HR. 91. [12] HR. 94, 98. [13] DCD. 15. [14] HR. 28. [15] DCD. 20.

night.[1] The Chinese knowledge of geography had expanded[2]: th
realised the existence of the east coast of Africa, though they h
not themselves visited it.[3] The Yüan Dynasty (which ruled Chi
from 1279 to 1368) was inaugurated in 1271. Kublai Khan attempt
to create a Chinese hegemony over the countries in the South Seas
his envoys went further than official envoys had previously go
even to Madagascar, according to Marco Polo.[5]

Kings were summoned to come or send envoys to the Chin
Court to show their allegiance[6]: except the Emperor of Jap
foreign monarchs were regarded as vassals of the Yüan Emperc
Incessant exchanges of embassies and presents took place betwe
China and Persia[8]: the Mongols kept open the sea-routes as w
as the land-routes between China and the Occident.[9] In 1272 t
Uighur I K'o Mu Su (called Ike Mese by Groeneveldt) went by s
and viâ Bengal on an embassy to Nepal: he crossed the ocean fc
times before 1292.[10] Great naval activity marked the reign
Kublai, but the Mongols were not at home on the sea.[11] In 12
Kublai unsuccessfully attacked Japan with a fleet of 150 ships
In 1279 the Mongols gained one of their few naval successes wh
their squadron destroyed the Sung fleet commanded by the valia
Chinese Admiral Chang Shih Chieh.[12] In 1281 Kublai sent a hu
armada of Mongols, Chinese, and Koreans against Japan: this w
unsuccessful.[14] In 1282 a Mongol force, under its General Soga
was sent by sea from Canton to reduce Champa: it captured t
Cham capital of Chaban, but later the Cham guerillas forced it
re-embark.[15] The foreign commerce of China was still maintained
about its highest peak[16]: and in the thirteenth century the Chin
junks threatened the trade of the Arabs in the Indian Ocean
In 1284 the Chinese Government attempted to increase its pro
from foreign trade: it built boats, chose men, provided them wi
capital, and sent them abroad to trade, taking 70 per cent of t
profits for itself: private trading was prohibited with hea
penalties, but the oft-repeated prohibition was far from successful

[1] HR. 34; TTC. 23. [2] LTC. 238. [3] DCD. 20. [4] CEH. 417.
[5] LTC. 267. [6] TTC. 27. [7] HJA. 91. [8] GH. II. 492.
[9] GH. II. 476. [10] GN. 154; PTP. (1933), 319. [11] LTC. 266.
[12] GH. II. 452. [13] GH. II. 450–1. [14] LTC. 264–5.
[15] LTC. 265–6; GH. II. 453, 608. [16] LTC. 272.
[17] Greenlee, W. B., *The Voyage of P. A. Cabral to Brazil* (1938), xxiv.
[18] TTC. 26.

In 1285 Sogatu took another army by sea to Champa, in order to attack the rear of the Annamites, now in conflict with Kublai.[1]

In 1287 the Annamites destroyed a Chinese fleet.[2] It seems that in about 1288 Marco Polo took part in embassies to Ceylon and Malabar,[3] and later made a report to Kublai[4]; this report does not appear to have yet been discovered. In 1291 Kublai sent Marco Polo and his two relations with a large company to escort a Mongol Princess, the Lady Kukachin, to Argun, Khan of the Mongols in Persia: they went in a flotilla of thirteen ships, travelling viâ the Singapore Strait and India.[5] In 1291–2 a Chinese expedition was dispatched to subdue the Liu Ch'iu (Ryu Kyu) Islands, but failed.[6] In 1292 Kublai sent a Mongol-Chinese armada of 1,000 ships and 20,000 men from Canton, under Shih Pi, against Java: initial success was followed by enforced retirement,[7] but apparently normal relations were later resumed between China and the Kingdom of Majapahit.[8] In 1296 a Chinese envoy went to Cambodia.[9] In or about 1301 a Chinese embassy, with at least twenty-five vessels, was sent by the Emperor Timur to Sultan Ghazan of Khwarizm (i.e. Khiva).[10] Kublai and his successors had commercial treaties with the Rajas of Travancore and of the Carnatic.[11] Powerful merchant guilds and paper-money helped to facilitate the transactions of overseas trading.[12] The chief emporium was Ch'üanchow ("Zaytun"),[13] for Marco Polo (about 1291) a "very great and noble city"[14]: Canton ("Sin-Kalan") for Ibn Battuta (about 1345) stood "a city of the first rank", with an important export trade in Chinese porcelain to India and Yemen.[15] In the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries the principal exports from China were silks, porcelain, lacquered goods, *objets-d'art*, copper cash, and Buddhist sutras: the principal imports comprised precious stones, pearls, coral, tortoise-shell, ivory, rhinoceros-horn, pharmaceutical products, camphor, incense, sandalwood, pepper and spices, colouring-matter, areca-nuts, sugar, elephants, buffaloes, parrots, fabrics, glass, tin, and occidental products.[16]

There was an uninterrupted stream of voyagers from Ormuz to

[1] GH. II. 453–4. [2] LTC. 266. [3] GH. II. 469. [4] Y. I. 32.
[5] Y. I. 38; II. 280, 331. [6] HJA. 91; LTC. 266.
[7] GH. II. 455; LTC. 266; LSH. 133; V. 50. [8] CEH. 337.
[9] Ferrand in *Journal Asiatique*, tome xx (1922), 234. [10] E. III. 47.
[11] GH. II. 475. [12] GH. II. 472. [13] LTC. 272. [14] Y. II. 234.
[15] GIB. 289. [16] HJA., after p. 116.

Quilon (Kulam) and Zaytun, and of Chinese merchandise from Zaytun to Quilon (for Ormuz).[1] Chinese junks called regularly at Kaveripattanam, Cail, Quilon, and Ceylon with many kinds of silks.[2] On the west coast of India, Chinese ships traded only at the ports of Calicut, Quilon, and "Hili"[3] (probably Nileshwar, a few miles north of the modern "Mount Delly"[4]): they passed the "winter" at Fandarayna (Panderani).[3] Most of the Chinese merchants went to Quilon, which was the nearest of the Malabar towns to China,[5] and had from very early times been the transshipment port for the Chinese trade.[4] Some of the Chinese in India owned numerous ships, in which factors travelled to foreign countries.[6] Great numbers of Chinese ships frequented the ports of Java.[6] In the China Sea travelling was done solely in Chinese ships. The largest Chinese ships were built only at Ch'üanchow and Canton: they had four decks, were divided into water-tight compartments, and had a complement of 1,000 men, of whom 400 would be men-at-arms: they had four to six masts and might carry as many as twelve sails.[7] The Chinese type of sail was superior to the Arab type.[8]

The Ming Dynasty was established in A.D. 1368. In the following year the Emperor T'ai Tsu sent an embassy to Japan,[9] and dispatched Liu Shu Mien to the Chola Kingdom of Coromandel to announce his accession.[10] Envoys went to Japan[11] and to Coromandel[12] again in 1370; and to the Liu Ch'iu Islands in 1372.[11] When the Emperor Ch'êng Tsu (often referred to as Yung Lê) assumed the throne in 1402, he at once notified the various States of his accession.[10] There now began a procession of Chinese ambassadors who travelled from port to port requesting from local rulers a personal visit to the Chinese Court to present tribute.[13]

Never was Chinese suzerainty carried so far by sea.[14] In Indonesia, China aspired to supplant the Javanese Empire of Majapahit.[15] In 1402 an envoy travelled to Japan,[16] and another to Coromandel.[17] The year 1403 witnessed the dispatch of four embassies: of Wên Liang Fu and Ning Shan to Java, Sumatra, and Coromandel[17]; of the eunuch Ma Pin to Coromandel,[17] Java, and Calicut[18]: of the

[1] GH. II. 476. [2] GH. II. 475. [3] GIB. 234. [4] GIB. 364.
[5] GIB. 236. [6] GIB. 236. [7] GIB. 235; DCD. 18.
[8] PBI. 162. [9] HJA. 95. [10] PTP. (1933), 327. [11] HJA. 96.
[12] PTP. (1933), 329. [13] CRH. 404; Y. 70. [14] LSH. 135.
[15] CKH. 402. [16] HJA. 96. [17] PTP. (1933), 327. [18] GH. II. 502.

eunuch "Yin K'ing" to Malacca[1]: and of the eunuch Li Hsing to Siam.[2] In 1404 an ambassador travelled to Japan.[3] But the Emperor Ch'êng Tsu did not content himself with requests: the velvet glove was supplemented by the mailed fist. Continuing the policy of Kublai Khan,[4] he attempted a thalassocracy of the Asiatic Seas[5]: in order to cajole recalcitrant states unwilling to recognize his overlordship, he dispatched a series of enormous naval expeditions, mostly under the Grand Eunuch Chêng Ho: these expeditions were a major event in Chinese history[6]: only once in its history did China have a formidable fleet,[7] and it acquired for a brief time an important political position for the Chinese.[8] In 1405 the Grand Eunuch Chêng Ho was ordered to undertake the first of his seven expeditions[9]: his voyages are considered in greater detail below. In 1407 an ambassador travelled to Japan.[10] In 1409 the eunuch Yin Chang was dispatched on a mission to Bengal.[11] In 1409 and 1411 an ambassador went to Japan.[12] In 1412 the eunuch Hung Pao was sent on a mission to Siam, apparently conducting the King's son home.[13] In the same year the eunuch Yang Ch'ih (probably identical with Yang Min) started on an expedition to Bengal: this partly overlapped the fourth voyage of Chêng Ho (1413–15).[14] In 1415 an expedition under Hou Hsien went to Bengal: it probably joined Chêng Ho's expedition (on his fifth voyage, 1417–19) somewhere in the Indian Ocean and went with him to Ormuz, but returned earlier, being back in 1418: probably a number of countries sent envoys to China on Hou Hsien's fleet.[15] In 1415 and 1419 an ambassador was dispatched to Japan.[16]

In 1419 the eunuch Yang Min travelled to Siam.[17] In 1421 the eunuch Li (probably Li Hsing) was sent on a mission to the South Seas: at Samudra (i.e. Pasai) the fleet was divided, and the eunuch Chou with several Chinese ships proceeded to Aden to present an Imperial letter, a robe, and an official hat to the King.[18] In the same year two different missions under the eunuchs Yang Ch'ing and Hung Pao were dispatched to the Western Ocean.[19] Chêng Ho was then on his sixth voyage (1421–2).[20] In 1421, then, no less than four

[1] PTP. (1933), 397). [2] PTP. (1933), 343. [3] HJA. 99. [4] V. 69.
[5] CEH. x. [6] DCD. 28. [7] LSH. 21. [8] LSH. 282.
[9] DTP. 356. [10] HJA. 99. [11] DTP. 370. [12] HJA. 100.
[13] DTP. 366. [14] DTP. 373–4; PTP. (1933), 272. [15] DTP. 363–4.
[16] HJA. 100. [17] PTP. (1933), 272.
[18] DMH. 50; PTP. (1933), 343. [19] PTP. (1933), 342–3. [20] DTP. 385.

Chinese fleets were travelling in the Indian Ocean at the same time.[1] Foreign commerce flourished[2]: the practical-minded Ming rulers, looking southward and seaward to extend their power,[3] made an unparalleled effort to stimulate foreign trade and resuscitate the flow of goods, which had ceased on the interruption of the trade-routes following the break-up of the Mongol dominion.[4] In 1370 an arrangement was made whereby Ningpo should be the port for the trade with Japan, Ch'üanchow for that with the Liu Ch'iu Islands, and Canton for that with all the other countries whose ships came from the south.[5] At the beginning of the fifteenth century a new Merchant Shipping Bureau was established in Tongking,[6] now once more under Chinese domination. It was still a function of these Bureaux to prevent Chinese from having private intercourse with foreigners.[6] Presumably, then, all Chinese traders belonged to the class of persons assisted by the Government in accordance with the scheme introduced under the Yüan Dynasty.

The naval expeditions gave an impetus to Chinese commerce[7]; the "Chinars" were "trafficking throughout all the Orientall countries".[8] Chinese traders in Chinese ships for the first time entered into direct commercial relations with some of the more distant countries,[9] namely, Ormuz, Djofar, Aden, Jubo, Brava, and Mogdishu: they proffered gold, silver, beads, silks, satins, cloth, porcelain, china ware, rice, beans, cloves, nutmegs, pepper, sandal-wood, musk, putchuk, sapan-wood, and iron bars: in return they purchased lions, leopards, rhinoceroses, camels, zebras, oryx, ostriches, sheep, gold coins, pearls, precious stones, ivory, amber, rugs, frankincense, ambergris, aloes, myrrh, liquid storax, benzoin, and dragon's blood.[10] The profits on the sales and purchases amounted to one thousand per cent.[11]

THE EXPEDITIONS UNDER CHÊNG HO

Most regrettably, the compilers of the "Shih Lu" or "Veritable Records" of the Ming Dynasty have caused confusion by combining the second and third expeditions into one expedition lasting from

[1] Cf. TTP (1933), 343. [2] LTC. 295. [3] LTC. 306.
[4] ICD. 26. The Islamisation of Persia in the fifteenth century closed the maritime route between China and Europe (GH, II 488–9.
[5] TTC 28–9. [6] TTC. 29. [7] LSH. 282.
[8] Tiele, P. A., *The Voyage of J. H. van Linschoten to the East Indies* (1885), II, 130.
[9] Cf. ICD. 26. [10] RTP. (1915), 606–7, 611, 612, 614, 615, 616, 618, 624.
[11] RTP (1915), 624.

1408 to 1411: the "Ming Shih" or "History of the Ming Dynasty" followed the "Shih Lu".[1] In order to bring the expeditions up to the correct total of seven, the "Ming Shih" invented one of 1424–5, which never took place.[2] Pelliot, following the "Ming Shih",[3] wrongly included this so-called "sixth voyage".[4] Fortunately, there have now been discovered the texts of two inscriptions on stones erected by Chêng Ho and his companions, (*a*) at Liu Chia Anchorage, in Kiangsu, on 14th March, 1431, and (*b*) at Ch'ang Lo, in Fukien, during the period 5th December, 1431–3rd January, 1432, respectively.[5] The inscriptions prove conclusively that the dates of the second and third expeditions were from 1407 to 1409, and from 1409 to 1411, respectively.[6]

It follows that Pelliot's articles[7] must now be read with the greatest caution.[8] The brilliant exposition of Professor Duyvendak on these and kindred points has revolutionized modern ideas about the dates of Chêng Ho's voyages.[9]

OUTLINE

Imperial edicts initiating the expeditions would be addressed to the Grand Eunuch, Chêng Ho, and other envoys.[10] Chêng Ho was a Court official, the son of Haji Ma, of Yünnan, and himself a Muhammadan.[11] He was the nominal chief of all the expeditions which he was ordered to command[12]: but he did not proceed on all of them himself[13]: and he was not expected to visit all the more distant countries.[14] He had extraordinarily large forces[15]: the inscriptions go so far as to say that on each occasion he commanded several tens of thousands of government soldiers and more than a hundred ocean-going vessels[16]: a large expedition would comprise nearly 28,000 men.[17] He visited more than thirty countries.[18] Extensive preparations were required for these large-scale expeditions, and some of the later ones required a year or more to get under way.[19] The largest ships are said to have been 444 feet long and 180 feet wide, and the middle-sized ships 370 feet long and 150 feet

[1] DTP. 261. [2] DTP. 387, 389. [3] DTP. 387.
[4] PTP. (1933), 300. [5] DTP. 342–3. [6] DTP. 361.
[7] In *T'oung Pao* (1933), 237–452; (1935) 274–314; (1936) 210–222.
[8] Cf. DTP. 372, n. 4. [9] Esp. DTP. 361–373 and 387–9.
[10] See below. [11] DCD. 27. [12] DTP. 372, 387.
[13] DTP. 371. [14] DTP. 386. [15] DTP. 392.
[16] DTP. 344. [17] Cf. below. [18] DTP. 345.
[19] DTP. 366. Cf. the itinerary of the seventh expedition below.

wide.[1] Probably some of the ships and some of the sailors came from the Fukien Province[2]: presumably the rest came from the north. Many of the troops were banished criminals or their descendants.[3] The expeditions ordinarily started in the autumn.[4] Chêng Ho would normally sail from Nanking, accompanying the foreign envoys.[5] The ships set out from "Treasure Ship Yard", near "Dragon River Barrier", apparently at the north-west angle of Nanking[6]: and sailed slowly down the River Yangtze to Liu Chia Anchorage at the mouth of the T'ai Ts'ang River, now known as Liu Creek, on the south bank of the River Yangtze, about thirteen miles above Woosung.[7] There the envoys met,[8] and Chêng Ho organized his fleet.[9] Sacrifices were made at the shrine of T'ien Fei, the Celestial Spouse, Goddess of the sailors.[10] From four to eight weeks were taken on the journey to T'ai P'ing Anchorage, in Ch'ang Lo sub-prefecture, near the mouth of the Min River in Fukien Province[11]: and there a stay of some months might be made in waiting until the following December January for the favourable north-east monsoon[12]: prayers were offered to the Gods.[13] The fleet then left the China coast: it travelled with sails spread at night.[14] On the return journey, merchant-ambassadors, bringing articles of tribute, would be offered passages in Chêng Ho's ships.[15] The expeditions normally returned to China in the late summer.[16]

Chêng Ho's Routes

Now for the first time Chinese envoys visited some of the more distant countries and could note their location, conditions, and customs. Thus, from the geographical point of view, these voyages were very important.[17] Most important of all, the routes followed by members of Chêng Ho's missions are recorded, it is supposed, on Chinese charts published in a book called *Wu Pei Chih* or *Notes on Military Preparation*, written in A.D. 1621. These charts cover the journey from Nanking to the African coast.[18] Over much of the distance they include sailing-directions specifying the courses to be

[1] DTP. 387.
[2] DTP. 391.
[3] DTP. 302-3.
[4] Cf. DTP. 376.
[5] Cf. PTP. (1933), 294.
[6] Cf. PTP. (1933), 307.
[7] *Tongking Pilot* (1928), 18.
[8] DTP. 344-5.
[9] DTP. 358.
[10] DCD. 29; DTP. 346.
[11] PTP. (1933), 281, 307.
[12] DTP. 391; PTP. (1933) 282, 307.
[13] DTP. 351.
[14] DTP. 348.
[15] DTP. 379.
[16] DTP. 369, 371.
[17] DCD. 30.
[18] DMH. 17-19.

followed, and the number of watches occupied in travelling from one land-mark to the next.[1]

They are real mariners' charts and of great interest,[2] but they contain some errors and certain surprising omissions, e.g. Sourabaya, Ligor, Kilwa. The best edition of these charts may be found in the last volume of the *Wu Pei Chih* in the Library of Congress at Washington. Reproductions published by Phillips appear in the *Journals* of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, viz., vol. 20 (1885), facing p. 226 (Tenasserim to Ormuz and Africa), and vol. 21 (1886), facing p. 42 (Tenasserim to Ch'üanchow). The route from Tongking to Nanking will be found in *T'oung Pao*, vol. 37 (1942), after p. 34.[3] Phillips identified a number of the places, but the only areas which have been made the subject of special study are the Malayan area (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Malayan Branch, vol. 15, part 3 (1937), pp. 1–48), and part of the Chinese area (*T'oung Pao*, vol. 37 (1942), pp. 1–14).

Chêng Ho's First Expedition (1405–7)

The edict ordering the expedition was dated 11th July, 1405,[4] and addressed to Chêng Ho and his colleagues Wang Ching Hung and others.[5] The fleet comprised sixty-three ships.[6] The number of (subaltern) officers, soldiers of the flag army, braves, civilians, buyers, and clerks amounted to 27,870 men.[6] On this voyage Chêng Ho visited Java, Samudra (Pasai), Lambri (Acheh), and Ceylon, before proceeding to his principal objective, Kuli (Calicut),[7] where the King Sha Mi Ti Hsi was reigning.[8] Chêng Ho or his associates also went to Champa on the outward voyage: in addition, they probably touched at Malacca, Aru (Deli), and Quilon.[9]

[1] Exigencies of space preclude any discussion of Chinese navigational methods. It must suffice to say (*a*) one watch was equal to 2·4 hours, (*b*) a watch was measured by counting the number of burnt joss-sticks, whose rate of burning was already known (*c*) the ship's speed was estimated by a man who threw a piece of wood into the sea at the bows and walked parallel with it to the stern. HTH. ch. 2, fol. 6V.

[2] DCD. 31.

[3] Unfortunately the columns of Chinese characters in this reproduction are so confused that it is difficult to read the sailing-directions correctly.

[4] DTP. 256.

[5] PTP. (1933), 273.

[6] DTP. 257.

[7] DTP. 358.

[8] DTP. 359. Mr. A. L. Basham kindly identifies this expression as representing the title "Samutiri" (Malayalam, "the Sea-King"), corrupted by the Portuguese into "Zamorin".

[9] DTP. 360.

Presents of silks with gold decoration were given to the princes and chiefs of the countries visited: those who did not submit to Chinese overlordship were subdued by military force.[1] Envoys from Calicut, Samudra, Quilon, Aru, Malacca, and other kingdoms returned in Chêng Ho's suite to render homage and bring tribute of products from their countries.[2] The outstanding event of the expedition occurred at San Fo Ch'i (Palembang) on the return journey, when Chêng Ho's forces defeated the pirate bands of the pirate-chief named Ch'ên Tsu I, killing over 5,000 men, burning or taking seventeen ships, and capturing Ch'ên Tsu I, who was later presented to the Emperor and decapitated at the capital, Nanking.[3] Chêng Ho returned to Nanking on 2nd October, 1407.[4]

Chêng Ho's Second Expedition (1407–9)

This was an unimportant expedition, presumably required for the solemn institution of the new King of Calicut, Ma Na Pieh Chia La Man[5]: though Chêng Ho was the official chief of the expedition, he did not actually accompany it, and it was directed by his associates.[6] The order for the expedition was dated the 13th (probably) day of October, 1407,[7] and directed to the three eunuchs Chêng Ho, Wang Ching Hung, and Hou Hsien.[8] The expedition perhaps did not sail till January or February, 1408.[9] It visited Siam, Java, Aru, Lambri, Koyampadi (Coimbatore), Cail, Cochin, and Calicut: also A Po Pa Tan, unidentified[10]: perhaps Champa, too.[11] The Kings of these countries were presented with brocades and gauzes.[12] At Calicut the commander of the Chinese fleet erected an inscription to commemorate the intercourse between India and China.[13] The fleet probably returned to China in the late summer of 1409.[14]

Chêng Ho's Third Expedition (1409–1411)

Though technically the third voyage and so described in the inscriptions, this was actually the second voyage under Chêng Ho's personal leadership.[15] The order, dated during the period 16th January–14th February, 1409,[16] directed Chêng Ho, Wang

[1] PTP. (1933), 274; (1935), 281. [2] PTP. (1935), 282.
[3] DTP. 347, 352; PTP. (1933), 274–5; (1935), 281–2. [4] DTP. 356.
[5] Mr. A. L. Basham kindly identifies the Chinese expression with the name "Mana Vikraman", later a title of the Rulers of Calicut.
[6] DTP. 350, 371–2. [7] DTP. 364. [8] DTP. 362. [9] DTP. 365.
[10] DTP. 365; PTP. (1933), 290. [11] DTP. 366–7. [12] PTP. (1935), 283.
[13] DMKH. 51. [14] DTP. 368–9. [15] DTP. 371–2. [16] DTP. 373.

Ching Hung, and Hou Hsien to visit the seas of the west at the head of 30,000 government troops [1]: they embarked on forty-eight ships.[2] The fleet sailed from Liu Chia Anchorage during the ninth moon (9th October–6th November, 1409), and arrived at Ch'ang Lo in the tenth moon (7th November–6th December, 1409).[3] They put to sea during the twelfth moon (5th January–3rd February, 1410) from Wu Hu Mên ("Five Tigers Strait", off the entrance to the Min River) and, hoisting twelve sails, reached Champa with a fair wind in ten days and nights.[4] The expedition visited Champa, Java, Malacca, Samudra, Ceylon, Quilon, Cochin, and Calicut: an incidental stop is recorded at Pulau Sembilan (near Temiang on the east coast of Sumatra).[5] In Ceylon, Chêng Ho set up an inscription in three languages, Chinese, Tamil, and Persian: it bears the date of 15th February, 1409, the date on which it was composed in China: it commemorates gifts to a Buddhist temple in Ceylon by Chêng Ho and others in the name of the Emperor, and expresses gratitude to the Buddha of Ceylon for a safe and tranquil voyage.[6] The principal incident occurred in Ceylon on the return voyage,[7] when a violent conflict took place between the forces of Chêng Ho and those of King Ya Lieh K'u Nai Êrh (i.e. Alagakkonara, apparently the personal name of King Vijaya Bahu VI): after several battles, Chêng Ho won a complete victory.[8]

The King, his wife, children, and principal functionaries were captured and later presented to the Court: the Emperor graciously released them and allowed them to return to their own country.[9] Chêng Ho returned to the capital on 6th July, 1411.[10]

Chêng Ho's Fourth Expedition (1413–15)

The order to Chêng Ho and others was dated 18th December, 1412.[11] Probably Chêng Ho did not leave Nanking till the autumn of 1413, and the coast of Fukien till January, 1414.[12] The expedition visited Champa, Kelantan, Pahang, Java, San Fo Ch'i (Palembang), Malacca, Aru, Samudra (Pasai), Lambri, Ceylon, Cail, the Maldive Islands, Cochin, Calicut, and Ormuz: also Pi La and Sun La, both unidentified.[13] On this occasion for the first time Chêng Ho's ships

[1] PTP. (1933), 284. [2] PTP. (1933), 281. [3] DTP. 361. [4] PTP. (1933), 281–2.
[5] DTP. 373; PTP. (1933), 286. [6] DTP. 368–9; PTP. (1935), 309–310.
[7] DTP. 368. [8] PTP. (1933), 278–280; (1935), 283–5.
[9] PTP. (1933), 280. [10] DTP. 361. [11] DTP. 373. [12] DTP. 376.
[13] DTP. 373; PTP. (1933), 294, 326; (1935) 285.

went further than India. A branch expedition sailed to Bengal.[1] It seems likely that during this voyage contacts were established in such important trading-centres as Calicut and Ormuz with representatives of further places such as Aden and East Africa, and that arrangements were made for "ambassadors" (really merchants) to come to China: naturally, they must have been offered passages in Chinese ships.[2] Chêng Ho received Imperial instructions on this voyage to lead his forces against a usurper who had snatched the Throne of Samudra from Sultan Zaynu'l Abidin, and to restore the rightful King. Chêng Ho captured the usurper alive and offered his prisoner at the gate of the palace in 1415: the usurper was executed.[3] Chêng Ho returned from this expedition on 12th August, 1415.[4]

Chêng Ho's Fifth Expedition (1417–19)

The initial order for the expedition was dated 28th December, 1416. Its avowed object was to escort back to their respective countries the ambassadors from nineteen kingdoms who had arrived on 19th November, 1416, and to present awards to their kings.[5] Pelliot, identifying Nan Wu Li and Nan P'o Li with Lambri, reduced the number to the following eighteen kingdoms: Champa, Pahang, Java, Palembang, Malacca, Samudra, Lambri, Ceylon, the Maldive Islands, Cochin, Calicut, Sha Li Wan Ni (perhaps Jurfattan, i.e. Canonore), Ormuz, Aden, Mogdishu, Brava, and Melinde; also La Sa (unidentified). These, then, will be the places visited in the course of the fifth expedition.[6] On this occasion, for the first time, Chêng Ho's ships reached the east coast of Africa.[7] Probably Chêng Ho did not leave the coast of China till the autumn of 1417.[8] Chêng Ho's fleet returned on 8th August, 1419.[9] The ambassadors were received at Court in the eighth moon (21st August–19th September, 1419).[9]

Chêng Ho's Sixth Expedition (1421–2)

The initial order for the voyage was dated 3rd March, 1421.[10] There is evidence that Chêng Ho was still in China as late as 10th November, 1421.[10] Ambassadors from Ormuz and the other

[1] DCD. 30.
[2] DTP. 378–9.
[3] PTP. (1933), 290–3; (1935) 312–3; DTP. 376–8.
[4] DTP. 373.
[5] DTP. 379; PTP. (1933), 294.
[6] PTP. (1933), 294–9; (1935) 296–8.
[7] PTP (1933), 299.
[8] DTP. 381.
[9] DTP. 382.
[10] DTP. 386.

countries, who had been in attendance at the capital for a long time, were conducted home again.[1] Pelliot concluded that they returned to the following countries: Malacca, Aru, Samudra, Lambri, Koyampadi (Coimbatore), Cail, Ceylon, the Maldive Islands, Cochin, Calicut, Ormuz, Djofar, La Sa (unidentified), Aden, Mogdishu, and Brava.[2] The date of Chêng Ho's return to Nanking was 3rd September, 1422.[3] It is impossible that Chêng Ho could have personally visited all these far-off countries in the course of this extremely short voyage from 10th November, 1421, to 3rd September, 1422: Professor Duyvendak therefore suggests that Chêng Ho visited some only of these countries, and that he arrived back while his subordinates were still visiting the more distant regions[4]: we know that the fleet was divided at Samudra and that the eunuch Chou (? Chou Man) went on to Aden.[5]

Chêng Ho's Seventh Expedition (1431–3)

This expedition, dispatched by the Emperor Hsüan Tsung (often referred to as Hsüan Tê) was the last of the great maritime voyages.[6] The chief officers of the expedition were (*a*) the principal envoys, i.e. the Grand Eunuchs Chêng Ho and Wang Ching Hung, (*b*) the assistant envoys, i.e. the Grand Eunuchs Li Hsing, Chu Liang, Chou Man, Hung Pao, Yang Chên, Chang Ta, and Wu Chung, and (*c*) the Commanders Chu Chên and Wang Hêng.[7] The personnel included officers, troops serving under the Banners, leaders of ten-men groups, helmsmen, anchor-controllers, interpreters, business-factors, accountants, doctors, workmen for the iron anchors, caulkers, scaffold-builders, and other workmen, seamen, boatmen (?), and others, a total of 27,550 officials.[8] The ships were of the classes known as great "pa lu", second "pa lu", etc.: they bore such names as *Pure Harmony* and *Lasting Tranquility*: there were also ships designated by serial numbers, "one," "two," etc.[9] Pelliot

[1] DTP. 354. [2] DTP. 386; PTP. (1935), 289–290. [3] DTP. 385.
[4] DTP. 386–7. [5] DTP. 385–6. [6] DTP. 390. [7] DTP. 343, 355.

[8] CYM. fol. 37R. Chu Yün Ming's note is entitled "Hsia Hsi Yang", "Down to the Western Ocean": an English translation by Mayers was published in the *China Review*, iii, pp. 329–330, and a French translation by Pelliot in *T'oung Pao* (1933), pp. 305–311: both the original and the translations contain certain inaccuracies. Professor Simon has kindly advised the present writer on the emendation of the text.

[9] CYM. fol. 38R. An illustration of one of Chêng Ho's ships will be found in Médard, M., *À Propos des Voyages Aventureux de Fernand Mendez Pinto* (1936), facing p. 134.

thought that "pa lu" might represent the Malay word "prahu", i.e. ship.[1] The main fleet left Dragon Bay at Nanking on 19th January, 1431: on 23rd January, 1431, it came to Hsü Mountain (apparently an island north of Chinkiang): on 2nd February, 1431, it passed through Fu Tzŭ Strait (apparently between Tsung Ming Island and the south bank of the Yangtze): on the next day it arrived at Liu Chia Anchorage.[2] The ships were moored at the foot of the shrine at the Palace of T'ien Fei, where rites were performed and sacrifices made.[3]

On 8th April, 1431, the ships reached Ch'ang Lo Anchorage,[4] "where the government troops pray and report their success."[5] On 16th December, 1431, the ships moved to Fu Tou Mountain[6] (apparently near the town of Fuchow.)[6] On 12th January, 1432, they passed through Wu Hu Strait,[7] off the mouth of the Min River. On 27th January, they arrived in Champa[7] (no doubt at Hsin Chou, Quinhon)[8]: they left on 12th February,[7] and reached Sourabaya, in Java, on 7th March.[8] (Pelliot thought that the Grand Eunuch Hung Pao did not accompany the fleet to Java, but went to Bengal, and joined the fleet again at Calicut.[9]) The ships restarted on 13th July,[9] and arrived at Palembang on 24th July: they left on 27th July and reached Malacca on 3rd August. They left on 2nd September, and came to Samudra on 12th September. Leaving on 2nd November, on 28th November they arrived at Pieh Lo Li in Ceylon (at or near Colombo). They restarted on 2nd December, and reached Calicut on 10th December. At Calicut the eunuch Hung (? Hung Pao) met some emissaries about to return to Mecca: selecting seven men, including an interpreter, he went with them on an Arab ship, taking musk and porcelain as presents. The journey there and back occupied one year. Hung returned with all kinds of strange merchandise, rare precious stones, giraffes, lions, and ostriches, also a true plan of the "Heavenly Hall" (i.e. the Ka'ba, at Mecca).[10] The main fleet left Calicut on 14th December, 1432, and came to Ormuz on 17th January, 1433. There they stayed till they left to return on 9th March. The itinerary was as follows: 31st March, arrived at Calicut: 9th April, left Calicut: 25th April, reached Samudra: 1st May, left Samudra[9]: 9th May, came to

[1] PTP. (1933), 311.
[2] DTP 331.
[3] PTP. (1933), 294.
[4] CYM. fol. 37R.
[5] PTP. (1933), 307.
[6] DTP. 346.
[7] CYM. fol. 37R.
[8] CYM. fol. 37R.
[9] CYM. fol. 37V.
[10] DMH. 74; PTP. (1933), 308.

Malacca: 20th May, arrived in the K'un Lun Sea [1] (the sea washing the south-east coast of Indo-China): 10th June, reached Ch'ih K'an ("Red Pits", Cape St. James) [2]: 13th June, same to Champa [3]: 17th June, left Champa: 19th June, arrived at Wai Lo Mountain (probably Kulao Rai) [4]: 25th June, sighted Nan Ao Mountain [5] (Namoa Island, off Swatow): 26th June, sighted Wang Lang Hui Mountain (apparently off Amoy): 30th June, arrived in the Chi T'ou Sea (Futo Channel, c. 29° 52′ N., 122° 06′ E.): 1st July, reached Wan Tieh Island (perhaps Chin Tang Island, c. 30° N.): 6th July, passed Ta Hsiao Ch'ih ("the Great and Little Reds", apparently near Hêng Sha, House Island, 31° 19′ N., in the Yangtze Estuary): 7th July, entered the T'ai Ts'ang River.[5] The authorities state that the following places were also visited: Siam, Aru, the Batak country, Lide, Lambri, the Nicobar Islands, the Maldive Islands, Quilon, Cochin, Djofar, and Aden.[6] Chêng Ho returned to Peking (now the capital) on 22nd July: the envoys who had arrived in his suite were received by the Emperor on 14th September, 1433.[6]

THE FOURTH PERIOD AFTER A.D. 1433 – ANTI-CLIMAX

The last period falls without the purview of this paper, and only the most meagre notices are permissible. After 1433 the Ming Empire began to decline and decay.[7] Grandiose and daring voyages on the scale adopted by the Emperor Ch'êng Tsu were never again attempted.[8] Chinese domination in Southern Asia fell away.[7]

EMBASSIES

Long before 1430 some of the more distant States, such as Aden and Ormuz, had ceased to send tribute, and after Chêng Ho's last voyage (1431–3) official relations with them ceased.[9] Tribute from some other States gradually lapsed.[10] Envoys were dispatched and received occasionally, e.g. a Chinese embassy visited Japan in 1596,[11] and the Ch'ing Emperors received tribute from certain nearer countries.[12]

At long last, but not till the twentieth century, "the Celestial Dynasty" abandoned the claim that all foreign governments were

[1] CYM. fol. 38R. [2] PTP. (1933), 310. [3] CYM. fol. 38R.
[4] *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, iv (1904), 208.
[5] PTP. (1933), 302, 304. [6] DTP. 390. [7] TTC. 68.
[8] T. 185. [9] PTP. (1935), 295. [10] LTC. 289.
[11] HJA. 114. [12] LTC. 309.

subordinate to the Chinese Emperor and must recognize his overlordship by periodical tribute-bearing embassies.[1]

Navy

On rare occasions a large fleet was collected, e.g. when the Ming General "Ch'i Chi Kuang" routed the pirates in 1563,[2] but for the most part "a navy was unimportant".[3] The sea-power which had given great promise under the Emperor Ch'êng Tsu,[4] eventually proved incompetent to check even the coastal pirates.[5] In 1936 (i.e. just before the outbreak of Sino-Japanese hostilities) China had only some 41,000 tons of obsolete naval ships to protect its 2,800 miles of coastline.[6]

Merchant Shipping

Imperial prohibitions,[7] official interference,[8] competition by foreign shipping,[9] and other factors[10] have effected the result that "the Chinese have developed almost no modern ocean-going shipping suitable even for the coastal trade".[11] In 1935 Chinese ships carried only about 16 per cent of China's foreign trade.[12]

Appendix (see Plate II)

A Cantonese Warship of the Middle Sixteenth Century

Apparently no history of Chinese ships has been written in English or French but interesting notices are given in such original authorities as Chau Ju Kua (A.D. 1225), Marco Polo (A.D. 1291), and Ibn Battuta (c. A.D. 1343); some historical notes will be found in the books of Messrs. Poujade (1946) and Worcester (1947).

The present illustration is taken from the *Chou Hai T'u Pien*, *A Collection of Maps [relating to] Sea-strategy*, first published in 1562; it is a large work on coast-defence and the relations with Japan, compiled by Hu Tsung Hsien, whose life-work was the defence of the Chinese coast against the Japanese pirates[13] ("-Wa k'u", often called "Wako"). The illustration bears the title

[1] LTC. 519   [2] T. 204.   [3] LFE. 21.   [4] LFE. 136.

[5] E.g. for the activities of the pirates in 1809, see Morse, H. B., *The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China* (1926), iii, 116.

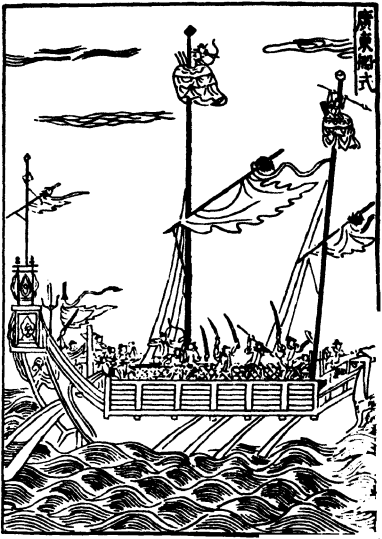
[6] CYB. 435   [7] TTC. 94; Boxer, C. R., *Fidalgos in the Far East*, 1550–1770, 5.

[8] LTC. 600   [9] Donnelly, I. A., *Chinese Junks* (1924), p. 111.

[10] E.g. reluctance to form joint stock companies commanding the large capital resources required by modern steamship lines: cf. LTC. 597.

[11] Rowe, D. N., *China among the Powers* (1945), p. 106.   [12] CYB. 113.

[13] DMR. 20.



A CANTONESE WARSHIP OF THE MIDDLE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

[To face p. 24

" Type of a Kuang Tung ship ".[1] Two pages of text[2] deal with the advantages and disadvantages of using these ships against the " Wa k'u ". Their great merit lay in their strength : they were made of " T'ieh li mu " (literally " iron-chestnut-wood "), perhaps a kind of teak : the pirates did not dare to risk a collision, since their own ships, being made of " sung shan mu ", pine-wood, immediately crumpled up. Their chief disadvantage lay in the difficulty and expense involved in obtaining the wood to construct and repair them. Perils of the sea and careless handling by Government forces led to damage and losses. To charter them was difficult, since the Cantonese owners demanded a high price to recoup themselves for losses incurred through the abandonment of the carrying-trade in fish and salt to " all the barbarians of the south-west ". There were also administrative difficulties, since the Cantonese ships were not under the jurisdiction of the Admiral commanding in Fukien. The two principal methods of attack are briefly stated : (*a*) to throw down fire-balls, which started an immediate conflagration in the enemy ship, (*b*) to fire a charge from a cannon (" Fo lang chi ", an expression which usually means " Portuguese ") : a direct hit blew the enemy ship to pieces, but direct hits were rare, hence the effect was mainly psychological, " to deprive the enemy of courage."

[1] HTH. ch. 13, fol. 1R. [2] HTH. ch. 13, fol. 2V–3R.

The Obelisk of Maṭara

By EDWARD ULLENDORFF

(PLATE III)

THE obelisk of Maṭara has long been known to bear the oldest Ethiopic inscription extant.[1] Maṭara[2] is a small village near Senafe,[3] in the province of Akkele Guzay, on the frontier between Eritrea and Ethiopia, and the obelisk stands on one of the most majestic sites of the Abyssinian highlands. When Littmann visited Maṭara at the beginning of this century he found the obelisk, broken into two parts, lying on the ground. The Italian Administration later had the broken monument repaired by means of two iron bars (see Photograph I) and set upright again in what was (wrongly !) believed to be its original position.

The obelisk is about 18 feet high (including the part in the ground), and at the place of the inscription is about 3 feet wide. Apart from its palæographical and linguistic value, interest is claimed by a solar disc and lunar crescent on the upper part of the stele (see Photograph I). These symbols not only help us to date the monument by offering corroboratory evidence for such conclusions as may be reached from the text and writing, but they also reaffirm the close cultural ties between South Arabia and the Aksumite Empire. This intimate relationship between the Eastern and Western Red Sea shores, so vividly expressed in language and script, has, of course, existed ever since South Arabians crossed the Bab-el-Mandeb and settled in what is now Eritrea and the Tigre province of Ethiopia. Archæological evidence of this South Arabian influence can almost daily be encountered[4] in Southern Eritrea and Northern Ethiopia, although—with the notable exception of Littmann's Aksum Expedition—no thorough investigation has ever been undertaken in those parts. This omission must be attributed mainly to the Italian Government, and it is to be hoped will be remedied when the political fate of Eritrea has been decided.

[1] So already Conti Rossini in "*Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*", 1896, pp. 250 sqq.: "*il più antico monumento della scrittura gə'əz a noi noto . . .*"

[2] This is the generally accepted indigenous spelling መጠራ ; so also Littmann, Aksum Expedition IV, p. 61, against Conti Rossini's መተራ (loc. cit.).

[3] In January, 1868, the H.Q. of General Sir Robert Napier, C.-in-C. of the British expedition against King Theodore.

[4] Cf. D. J. Duncanson in "*Antiquity*" 1947.

The solar disc and half-moon near the top of the obelisk were no doubt meant to place the stele under the protection of the gods, probably of Šams, the Sun goddess, and of Sin, the Moon god. In other words: those two signs are, to my mind, equivalent to the stereotyped South Arabian formula: . . . *wrṯd sṭrs . . . bn ḏymḥrs wmḥrs* . . . "and he placed his inscription under the protection of . . .[1] against anyone who may remove it or render it illegible . . ."[2]

The solar disc and lunar crescent also make it clear that the inscription must have been written before the introduction of Christianity into the Aksumite Empire, i.e. before the middle of the fourth century A.D. Christianity spread rapidly, and we have no reason to think that remnants of the old South Arabian religion lingered on for any appreciable time after King Ezana's conversion.

The dating indicated by the pagan symbols is borne out by palæographical criteria. This is one of the few Ge'ez inscriptions known to us that still shows the pure consonantal script (see Photograph II). The vowel-marks were introduced into the Ethiopic alphabet during the fourth century A.D.,[3] and intentional archaizing of the script (not unknown in epigraphic documents on Ethiopian soil) is ruled out by the genuinely archaic shape of the characters. The angular form known from the South Arabian alphabet has not yet completely disappeared, being particularly apparent in አ, በ, ገ, ሀ, and ሐ. The word-divider, too, is still the South Arabian / and not the later Ethiopic ፡ which developed from the former. On the other hand, the inscription runs from left to right, unlike the usual right to left or *boustrophedon* direction of South Arabian epigraphy. The obelisk and its writing may be confidently assigned to the early part of the fourth century A.D.

Unfortunately, the language of the inscription has offered considerable difficulties and its interpretation cannot be regarded as satisfactory.[4] The only complete decipherment is given by Littmann, op. cit., pp. 61-2. Conti Rossini (loc. cit.) had only translated the

[1] In the present case Šams and Sin.

[2] Cf., among many other instances, Gl. 1089, lines 4, 5.

[3] Cf. Littmann, loc. cit., p. 79.

[4] The necessity of a different decipherment became apparent to me when I visited the site of the obelisk first in 1942, and it was then that the interpretation occurred to me which is offered in the following. A first—though largely different—version was later, in 1945, printed by the Government Printer, British Military Administration, for private circulation in Eritrea.

first part and not suggested any definite rendering for the second half. D. H. Mueller's (WZKM 1896) version cannot be considered an advance on Conti Rossini's first attempt, and Littmann in his work has rightly abandoned Mueller's interpretation which raises more problems than it solves. It is, therefore, only with Littmann's stimulating rendering that we shall have to deal in the following.

The Ethiopic characters of the inscription (consisting of four lines; average height of letters is 3½ inches) seem all clear, and their reading is not in doubt. Yet it is strange to find that Conti Rossini's first copy contained two doubtful points: (a) he read the first letter in line 3 as *s* (instead of *ḥ*), and (b) the last letter in the same line as either ʿ or *y* (instead of the former only). I am at a loss to explain these discrepancies,[1] unless Conti Rossini's reading was based on a copy of inferior quality. Mueller's identical rendering presents no independent evidence, since it was copied from Conti Rossini's rubbing. Littmann's confidence in the actual text seems fully justified.[2]

Photograph II should clearly show the following:—

(1) ዘሐወልተ/ዘአገበረ
(2) አገዘ/ለአበወሀ/ወሰ
(3) ሐበ/መሐዘተ/አወዐ
(4) አለፈነ/ወጸበለነ

This consonantal skeleton has been vocalized by Littmann (loc. cit.) as follows

(1) ዘሐውልት/ዘአግበረ
(2) አገዘ/ለአበዊሁ/ወሰ
(3) ሐበ/ሙሐዘት/አውዓ
(4) አለፌኒ ወጸበሌኒ

translated by Littmann:—

(1) Dies ist die Stele, die hat machen lassen
(2) 'GZ fuer seine Vaeter; und er
(3) zog die Kanaele von 'Aw'a
(4) 'Alafa sowohl wie von ṢBL.

[1] Professor Marcel Cohen very kindly informs me, however, that ... "quand j'ai en 1911 essayé de copier cette inscription, il m'a semblé voir un trait vertical mal tracé qui donnerait à la ligne 1, au lieu de ፕ : ፓ ..." I cannot to-day see such a faint additional line on the stone.

[2] Aksum IV, p. 61 · ... "Alle Buchstaben sind deutlich und sicher" ...

No difficulties arise in the first part (up to Littmann's semicolon) except, perhaps, for the name 'GZ, which in this form occurs nowhere else. Conti Rossini thought of a connection with እግዚእ "dominus" which, though not impossible, is not very likely, as the root of this word is *gzʾ*. Mueller found in it the South Arabian *gʿz* "to determine". I would rather connect it with Amharic አገዘ "to help, to assist", a rare synonym of the general Ethiopic ረድአ and not otherwise occurring in the Abyssinian languages.[1] The name might then be vocalized አጋዝ.

Littmann's reading and translation of the second part present difficulties in contents, language, and topography :—

(*a*) It is agreed that the obelisk was to serve as a funeral monument for 'Agaz's fathers. If so, it seems incongruous that 'Agaz should speak about his own deeds instead of celebrating those of his fathers. This difficulty was felt by Littmann (loc. cit., p. 62).

(*b*) The syntax of the text would be improved if "his fathers" were the subject of the verb *sḥb*. The conjunction *w* has in such connections almost the strength of a relative pronoun.[2]

It may also be doubted whether *sḥb* "to draw" can be employed to convey the meaning of building canals ("er zog die Kanaele").[3] This verb does, of course, also exist in modern Ethiopian languages, but when I mentioned to some Tigrinya- and Amharic-speaking Abyssinians *säḥabä mäsno* and *sabä mäsno*, respectively, "to draw irrigation ditches," they had no idea what this expression was meant to convey. In South Arabian inscriptions, where the mention of irrigation works is not unusual, the common Semitic verb *ḥfr* is generally used to describe this operation.[4] In Ethiopic the verbs

[1] Tigrinya ሓገዘ "to help" is an Amharic loanword, since it occurs only along the southern fringes of the Tigrinya speaking area. There are a few instances in which Amharic ʾ has been taken *over* into Tigrinya as ḥ. This process has no phonetic reasons, but derives from a general Tigrinya suspicion of Amharic laryngals and the assumption of a fictitious Ge'ez root ḥgz. This root does, indeed, exist in Ge'ez as a *hapax legomenon*, but its meaning is "infrenari" and identical with Arabic حجز "to detain, withhold".

[2] Cf. Dillmann, Ethiopic grammar, paragraph 200 : "In Ethiopic, the most general connecting particle—viz. *w*—suffices to join clauses together, even in those cases in which other languages, more accurate in their expression of logical relations, make use of other uniting words or particles."

[3] I am greatly indebted to Professor Littmann for supplementary information on his reading.

[4] Cf., *e.g.*, Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia Arabica Meridionalis Epigraphica*, p. 183 : wḥfr b'rhw . . . bnḫlhw "and he dug his ditch in his plantation".

kry and *dḥy* (or *dḥy*) are employed for the digging of ditches or canals.[1]

(*c*) The most weighty objections to Littmann's interpretation are, perhaps, topographical, technical, and climatic. There are no canals, rivers, or remnants of them either in Maṭara or its surroundings. Moreover, the digging of such waterways in the topographical circumstances described by Littmann would have been technically *impossible*[2] (see also below).

Nor have irrigation works ever been carried out in the neighbourhood of Senafe (8,000 feet). Guidi (Vocabolario Amarico, col. 74) justly remarks that *mâsno*, "canali d'irrigazione," are laid in the *wayna dagā* region, i.e. the land between the high-plateau and the coastal plain, but not at the most elevated points of the plateau. Nor, apparently, is there need for works of this kind, for the small rains (March May) and the main rainy season (July–September) seem to provide all the water the Abyssinian peasant in this region wants.[3] While Littmann rightly refers to South Arabian inscriptions dealing with irrigation projects, it must be realized that the conditions in the highlands of Abyssinia are totally different.

These difficulties, and in particular their cumulative effect, clearly show that we have to find a solution in a different direction. Such a solution must provide continuity of contents, absence of linguistic and technical problems, as well as a text in keeping with the general trend of Ethiopian epigraphic documents of that period. The following reading, it is hoped, fulfils these conditions.

The first two lines are clear:

(1) This is the obelisk which had (caus.) made
(2) 'Agaz for his fathers.

The word መሐዛት in line (3) admits of Littmann's vocalization *muḥāzzāta* as well as of any other that is based on the consonantal skeleton actually appearing on the stone inscription. I suggest reading መሐዛት (or in the construct as required here: መሐዛተ), i.e. the plural of the well-known noun መሐዝ "juvenis", the form

[1] See, for instance, Psalm VII. 16, which translates ከረዩ ፡ ወደሐዩ ፡ . . .

[2] This view was confirmed by the Water Engineer of the Public Works Dept., Eritrea.

[3] When I spoke to a peasant at Maṭara and suggested irrigation works, I noted down the following reply: *baḥ zāḥay zenabm ma'san'ta baruḥ 'allo*; "there is more rain and dew than sun."

and meaning of which are well attested, though it does not seem to possess any satisfactory Semitic etymology. Cf. Psalm 148, 12, where the contrast between *liqānāt* πρεσβῦται and *maḥasāt* νεώτεροι is stressed, i.e. between the old (and weak) men and the young (and strong) men.[1]

The well-known Semitic root *sḥb* " to drag along ", " to capture ", is given by Dillmann, Lexicon, col. 328, as " captivum trahere ; deducere in supplicium ".[2] Cf. Isaiah 13, 16 (and for further references see Dillmann, loc. cit.).

By making 'Agaz's fathers the subject of the second part of the inscription I read and vocalize *wasaḥabu* . . . " and they captured (or subdued) the young (and strong) men " . . .[3]

As to the remaining three words, Littmann has justly taken them as place-names. The locality of *ṢBL* could not be traced by him, while *'W' 'LF*, in a number of varying forms, was believed to have been found somewhere " near " (24 kilometres !!) Senafe. In my translation, however, the precise location of these places has ceased to be a matter of material importance. Yet on my last visit to the Maṭara area, in August, 1946, I was told by one of the deacons (Berhe Yohannes) of the famous church (twelfth century ?) at Baraknaha (17 kilometres from Maṭara) that the earlier name[4] of the church had been *ṣubli*[5] and that of the equally well-known church at Guna-Guna (22 kilometres from Maṭara): *'Aw'a 'ilfi.* Though I could obtain no corroboratory evidence, this remarkable piece of information cannot be lightly dismissed[6]; it would certainly fit well into the picture. And the entire inscription should be rendered :—

[1] For further references see Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae*, col. 160.

[2] If we might assume an irregular laryngal correspondence (for which a number of instances can be adduced), the Accadian *saḫāpu* may possibly be compared ; it is translated by Delitzsch, Handwoerterbuch, p. 493, as " niederwerfen, ueberwaeltigen ".

[3] The identification of " young men " with " warriors " occurs elsewhere ; cf. only Hebrew בחורים which frequently stands for warriors, e.g. Isaiah, 31, 8 ; Jer. 18, 21 ; Amos 4, 10, etc. The same is true of South Arabian *'sd* which means " young man " as well as " soldier ".

[4] He added : *ḥəǧǧi tärdəsi'u* " now fallen into oblivion ".

[5] Tigrinya adds a euphonic *-i* to nouns ending in two consonants.

[6] My informant would not have got those names from the writing on the obelisk. No Abyssinian, however learned, ever looks at it when passing there. The absence of vowels from the script generally even precludes their identifying the writing with the Ethiopian alphabet.

(1) This is the obelisk which had (caus.) made
(2) 'Agâz for his fathers who have
(3) carried off the youth of 'W'
(4) 'LF as well as of SBL.[1]

The advantages of this explanation are :—

(a) 'Agaz's fathers, to whose memory this stele is dedicated in first part of the inscription, are now the logical subject also of second half.

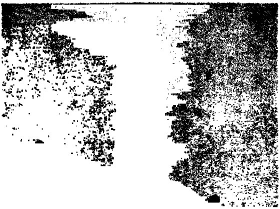
(b) The syntactical difficulty is removed by making " his fathe the subject of *wshb*.

(c) The doubtful combination *shb muḥāzāta* " to draw cana has been avoided.

(d) All topographical, technical, and agricultural obstacles h been cleared away.

There is, to my mind, another point that recommends the in pretation here offered. The time of this document is approximat parallel to that of the famous Ezana inscriptions ; conquest subjugation are the ever recurring subjects on those obeli 'Agâz does not mention on the funeral monument for his fathers t he has dug irrigation ditches (which could, in all the relev circumstances, hardly have existed in the region concerned), but celebrates his fathers' deeds of conquest and victory over the yo and strength of their enemies.

[1] For the twice suffixed *-ni* cf. Dillmann, grammar, paragraph 168, 4, Tigrinya usage where this double suffix *-a* is the common conjunction " and '



Two Tribal Law Cases (Documents)
(Wāḥidī Sultanate, South-West Arabia)

By R. B. Serjeant

During a year in Ḥaḍramawt I was able to collect a number of legal documents which contain valuable material for a study of the social structure of the country. Amongst these are two groups of deeds relating to the Ḥawṭahs of al-Ḥāwī and Thibī, typical examples of the sacred enclaves of this part of Arabia. Another set of documents defines the rights of the townsmen of the Sūḳ quarter of Tarīm, with some references to the ceremonies connected with hunting the ibex, and I have various other documents relating to tribal cases, a house-sale deed, etc.

The cases which concern us at present are written in a mixture of colloquial and classical Arabic, conventional in form and difficult to interpret. The law upon which they are based is not sharī'ah, but tribal custom ('ādah), and there are references to usages which must be pre-Islamic but flourish still to-day. Apart from the importance of such material for constructing a picture of contemporary Arabian society, documents such as these may assist in the interpretation of the language and content of pre-Islamic inscriptions. They are a sample of material abundant in tribal areas, but, of course, they are typical of a more primitive form of civilization than that of the Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt.[1]

The Wāḥidī Tribes and their Country

For detailed information on the Wāḥidī Sultanate, with accurate lists and descriptions of tribes and excellent geographical information, mostly not so far utilized by cartographers, C. von Landberg's *Arabica V* (Leiden, 1898), pp. 177–234, Pays des Wâḥidi, is invaluable. The best map of the area is H. Von Wissmann's new draft map of the Aden Protectorate, at present in MS. at the Royal Geographical Society. Use has been made of the Political Notebook for the district, where more recent events are concerned, but tribal and geographical data therein must be checked by *Arabica V*.[2]

[1] For the Yemen, see E. Rossi, Il diritto consuetudinario delle tribù arabe del Yemen, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (Roma, 1948), xxiii, 36 pp.

[2] Several travellers have described Wāḥidī country. A small literature exists on the Vienna Expedition at the beginning of the century. C. von Landberg's Die Hunde von 'Azzān und ihre Bestrafung durch die Engländer, *Eine Erinnerung an die Südarabische Expedition* (München, 1903), might be consulted. For photographs, Freya Stark's books are useful.

Landberg's analysis absolves me from describing at length the social structure of the territory. Class divisions, in more or less descending order, include saiyids (with no temporal power), sultans, mashā'ikh, two sanctuary-khādims—a very ancient class—and the tribesmen. Below the fully honourable status come soldiers of the Sultan (usually, if engaged in trading, but not if acting as soldiers), ra'īyah, ḥawīk (weavers), ṣubyān, slaves, and outside this Islamic society the ancient but alien element of the Jews. The ra'īyah are sub-divided into various types, tradesmen, artisans, labourers, and even some rich merchants and camel-owners.

At Aṣba'ūn, in the Wādī Maifa'ah, about an hour's journey on foot from the pre-Islamic city of Naḳab al-Hadjar, the Wāḥidī sultanate has an administrative centre, under the qaim, Muḥammad bin Sa'īd al-Wāḥidī, from whom these cases were obtained. With his aid, that of the assistant political officer, Muṣṭafā Rif'at, and any Bā 'Awḍah tribesmen present, they were explained.

We are here concerned with two different tribal confederations, firstly in the land case, the Bā Rashaid section of Bā Baḥar, of the Nu'mān confederation. The Bā Rashaid have their tribal centre at Raidat Āl Rashaid, a little to the north and east of Aṣba'ūn, and live in the villages of Al-Salāmah, Ḥuṣn al-'Uṭair, Raḥṭān, al-Ḳurain, and Thafar. The Bā Baḥar is an ancient tribe, mentioned in Hamdānī's *Djazīrat al-'Arab*, etc. The other tribe in the case of the run-away wife, is the Bā 'Awḍah, of the Āl Dhiyaib branch of Ḥimyar. I have talked with most of the individuals whose names occur in the texts. Few can write more than their names at best, yet the documents abound in formulæ and technical terms, some of which one occasionally sees in ancient Arabic poetry.

PROCEDURE

Each case has its fixed conventional procedure. In the reports of the qaim of Maifa'ah, we find the sās or ordering of procedure, the da'wā, plaint or accusation, the taḳwā or defence and reply, and the ḥukm, judgment, all set forth, though in the first instance, the land case, the ḥukm is not given, as it was *sub judice* at my visit.[1]

According to my informants there are three types of ḥukm.

[1] The term sās (sāsa) seems to be used in Iraq, though its actual technical application may vary a little from that in Wāḥidī territory. See Farīḳ al-Muzhir, *Al-Ḳaḍā' al-'Ashā'irī*, edited with notes by Nūrī Shams al-Dīn (Baghdad, 1941), pp. 23 and 124.

There is that which is called riḍā, agreement or consent, ḳaḍā, the decision of a judge according to the merits of a case, and ṣalḥ or iṣlāḥ, settling out of court, or without going to court. When a case comes before the tribal judges, a meeting usually takes place in the room of a dār, and the case is conducted, often amidst much heated argument. I have seen such cases in Wāḥidī territory, and also remember vividly one held at my camp at Am-Fadjarah, in Ṣubaiḥī country, in 1940, attended by representatives of both contending tribes, with the hostages they had given in earnest of their intention of proceeding to court, the latter in fetters.

The Land Dispute

Two sections each claim certain rights over land in the Wādī Maifa'ah. The matter is brought before the qaim of Maifa'ah, the procedure agreed and witnessed. The plaint is made and the defence is set out.

نَقْل من الدَّعَاوِى الّذى تَصْدُر فى مَحْكَمَةْ مَيْفَعَه من البادِيَه

الأكرام

(١) وِثْر حَقّ السّاس

حضر عنـدى فى محكمة ميفعه العاقل على بن حَمَدْ بن لَنْجَمْ وقبيلته هل رَّشَيْد، وكذلك العاقل على بن سالم بن حمد وقبيلتـه هَلْ على بن حَمَدْ هـل رَّشَيْد، وقـدّموا محبوسين من الفريقَيْن بيد قايم ميفعـه محمّد بن سَعيـد الوَاحِـدِى لبعضهم البعض فى ما طالبوا فيه فى حقايق الأطيان وتجاديرها وغلّها وفى حدود الطّين ونهب وعَثْرَهْ وتوقيف، كُلّيْن هَرْجَه له ولسانه له وساسه له بلْغَ الطُّرُق، مُخَلّف الدّم وشَايِم ولَايِم. هذا براس

الحكومه تُقدِّمه أو تُوَخِّره الى وقت ثانى صار بالقُنْع والرِّضا بين المذاكير، وكلّن منهم حَمِيل ورَدِيم على قبيلته . وعلى القانْم ان يختار لنا حُكّام من روس عُقّال القبايل فى قواعد البلاد وسوالفها وسَوَاسها، وكلّ رُكْبه يُنْكِرها الحكَمَ هى معذوفه ما لها قبُول من الجانبَيْن، وكلّ من جَاه فصل ولا تقبّله يتقبله العَدَلِي، وهو يقطع النريم ومَن صابه صَوْب ولا بَدّاه فهو المربوع فى رجل محبوسه ومن ما قابل على وَعْدُه، وخذ وأنطا عند الحُكّام كلّ ما ادَّعَوْه ايّاه واضح وما هو له ماضح .

وذلك بحَضْرة الْأَشْهَاد، المَنْصَب الشيخ عبد الله بن محمّد بَا قَادِر والعاقل حسين بن عمر با عَوْضَه، والعاقل على ن عوَض بن لَكْرَشْ با عَوْضَه، والعاقل على بن حمَد بن عوض بن ذِيَيْب با عَوْضَه .

(٢) دَعْوَى

دعوى عَلِي بن احمد بن لَمْجَمْ بن رشيد وقبيلته . ادَّعَا بالله وعندكم يا لَحْكَام أَنَّ لى مال فى ساقِيَة النُّونجِم والبِرْنَملَه بالمَطَف وأنّه سرح عليه وغلب عليه ومنع وكيلى وقفَا على حقيقتى وله سنين عديده ويا من بعد ما قفا علا مالى إنّه جاب

لى عَثْرةَ وحمّلنى اثنين تُول . وَأُصِيبَه وَٱلْزَمـه من عنـد الله وعندكم يَاْلحُكَّام يسوش مالى وغلَلى . وعِنّى وَأُنْسِبْنِى بشُهُودى وَأُصِيبه بِاْلحُمَال الثّقيله والعُبّر الجايره من عند الله وعندكم يا اَلحُكَّام .

(٣) تَقْوَى

اِتّقَا عَلِى بن سالم بن رَشَيد. عندُ الله وعندكم يا اَلحُكَّام أن ساقِيَةَ الثُّوَيْجِـع والبِزَيْمَلَه بين هَل رَشَيد، وكُلَّين سـارِح يِتْقَصَّم من تحت يدّى حِصّته بعوايد حَرْث مَيْفَعَه وأنّ على بن أحمد بن لَعْجَمْ وقبيلته غَلَبَوْا يتصمّون جِيز القُسوم وأنّهم يَبَوْن يرسمون عَلَىّ عاده ثانيَه ، وأنهم جَوْنى حَرّابـه ضَرّابـه إلى مَطْرَحِى ، ويا من عثَر إن عَثْرتـه فى ظَهْرَه؛ ويحمانى الله، لا غلبت عَلَا عَاصِمَةَ مثل هل رَشَيد، ولا يلزمنى حاكم بالجَوْر والبُهْتان . وقدنى عند الله وعندكم يا اَلحُكَّام .

Copy of the cases which appear at the court of Maifa'ah from the honourable tribes.

(1) *A Document of Procedure*

The headman ('āḳil) 'Alī bin Ḥamad bin La'djam (1) and his tribe, the Ahl Rashaid (2), attended the court of Maifa'ah before me, and so also the headman 'Alī bin Sālim bin Ḥamad and his tribe the Ahl 'Alī bin Ḥamad Ahl Rashaid. They delivered over hostages from (each of) the two (contending) parties into the hands of the

qaim (3) of Maifa'ah, Muḥammad bin Sa'īd al-Wāḥidī (4), as a guarantee of one (tribe) to the other in the matter of the claims they maintain regarding the rights to cultivated lands, the imposition of a ban (5) thereon, the crops therein, and concerning the boundaries of the cultivated land, theft, provocation of quarrels, and forcible stoppage of cultivation (6). Each (tribe) has its (right of raising) a plea, of pleading its (case), and of having its procedure detailed, from beginning to end; apart from matters involving blood (7), and that which touches a man's honour (8). The latter rests with the Government (9) to decide whether to bring forward the matter, or postpone it to a later occasion.

(The afore-going) was agreed to the satisfaction and consent of the afore-mentioned (contracting) parties, and each of them is a responsible guarantor on behalf of his tribe. It is the duty of the qaim to choose judges for us from amongst the principal headmen of the tribes, in accordance with the laws, precedents, and customary procedure of the land (10). Any unfounded claim (or petition) which the judge disallows is (thereby) rejected, and shall find no acceptance from either party (of the two tribes). (In the case of) any party who has a decision preferred against him, but will not *accept it*, the pledge holder will, notwithstanding, accept it, and he will pay the (successful) party to the suit (11). Whosoever has a sentence passed against him, but does not make settlement of it, must pay the (fine) four fold before his hostage can be released (12). Whosoever has not presented himself in accordance with his promise (or appointment), nor made his plea and defended himself before the judges, all that they (his opponents) have preferred against him is valid, and not null and void.

This (took place) in the presence of the witnesses, the Manṣab the Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Muḥammad Bā Ḳādir (13), the headman Ḥusain bin 'Umar Bā 'Awḍah, the headman 'Alī bin 'Awaḍ bin Lahraḍh, and the headman 'Alī bin Ḥamad bin 'Awaḍ bin Dhiyaib Bā 'Awḍah (14).

(2) *A Plaint*

The plaint of 'Alī bin Aḥmad bin La'djam bin Rashaid and his tribe.

He brings a plaint before (15) God, and you, oh judges, that I (16) have property in the water-channel of al Nuwaidji' and al-Bizai'alah, in the Bend (17) (of the Wādī Maifa'ah), and that he (18) went out to

work in it, and took it over, and would not allow my agent (access to it), but disregarded my right, and has been doing so for a number of years. Then, subsequent to his disregarding my property, he picked a quarrel with me, and made me responsible for committing two murders. I therefore attaint him, and lay on him the responsibility, before God, and before you, oh judges, of plundering my property and my crops. So help me (19) and trouble me (to produce) my witnesses. For I attaint him (with the responsibility for) heavy burdens, and grievous troubles, before God, and before you, oh judges.

(3) *A Defence*

'Alī bin Sālim bin Rashaid (20) declares in his defence :—

Before God, and before you, oh judges, that the water-channel (21) of al-Nuwaidji' and al-Bizai'alah is (common property) amongst the Āl Rashaid, and each is eligible to receive his share from my hand, his portion being in accordance with the customs of cultivation at Maifa'ah, and that 'Alī bin Aḥmad bin La'djam and his tribe refused to take their shares like the (other) share-holders, but wished to prescribe another custom for me, and that they came to my place with hostile intent. Now, whosoever picks a quarrel, the (responsibility for) the trouble (resulting), falls on his own head, and, God protect me, I have not withheld his share (which is) the same as (that of) the Āl Rashaid. Nor will any judge hold me culpable of injustice or false accusations. I am before God, and before you, oh judges.

NOTES.

(1) La'djam, i.e. al-A'djam, a not uncommon name amongst the Aden Protectorate tribes.

(2) Pronounced Harrashaid.

(3) The placing of hostages in the hands of a third party, in earnest of the sincerity of both contending parties' intention of submitting their case to arbitration, is ordinary procedure in Arabia.

(4) Muḥammad bin Sa'īd al-Wāḥidī is a member of the Wāḥidī family which provides the Sultan for that group of tribal elements known as the Wāḥidī confederation.

A sultan (dawlah) in Southern Arabia is never an absolute monarch, or even a king in the ordinary sense, but stands rather in the position of hereditary mediator between a group of tribes associated together in a sort of large confederation; he acts too,

as their leader in matters arising between the confederation and the outside world. I suspect that the sultanate is really a development from the offices of 'âkil and ḥakam, which are themselves often hereditary. Sultans are probably of tribal stock, and those closely related to the ruling member of the family are respected, though not reverenced and feared like the Mashâ'ikh. The poorer sultans, as a rule, enjoy but little consideration, and during our tour of Wâḥidī territory I met one sultan (of whom there are a great many as all their descendants are known by this title), a penniless beggar. This person arrived uninvited at every meal given by local men of influence in honour of Sultan Nâṣir, and would stuff pieces of meat left over into the leather bag he wore slung over his shoulder, taking them away to consume at leisure.

Some assert that the Wâḥidīs are of Turkish descent. Descent is also claimed from the Ḳuraish and from Ḥimyar, but whatever the case may be the Aden Protectorate sultans are physically indistinguishable from their tribesmen. I was told that the ancestor of the Wâḥidīs, by name 'Abd al-Wâḥid, was an Ottoman Turk, a qaim of the Ottomans probably, about the time of the famous Ḥaḍramī sultan, Badr Bū Ṭuwairiḳ b. 'Abdullāh b. Dja'far al-Kathīrī. The Faḍlī, I was told at 'Azzān, is also Ottoman, and so is Sultan 'Aidarūs bin 'Afīf al-Yāfi'ī; elsewhere I have heard it said that the 'Awdhalī Sultan is of Turkish descent. A passage from the history of Bal-Faḳīh al-Shuḥrī described in "Materials for South Arabian History I", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1949), gives some credibility to the assertion that the ancestor of the Wâḥidīs flourished about this time. In the year 955 H. (1548 A.D.) the Sultan Badr went from Shuḥr to Ḥadramawt. After spending the 'Īd al-Fiṭr in Saiwūn, he "set out for Shabwah", then, says the author:

"There came to him Ibn 'Abd al-Wâḥid, the Lord of Ḥabbān, to Shabwah, and asked him to go with him against certain enemies of his (i.e. Ibn 'Abd al-Wâḥid's enemies) there, such as Bā Ḳab, the Lord of Yashbum, and Ibn Siddah. So the sultan (Badr) set out with him at the head of his troops, and he (Ibn 'Abd al-Wâḥid) brought him up to the citadel (of Ḥabbān). Now, when Bā Ḳab heard, he fled to the mountains, but Ibn Siddah sent the faḳīh 'Abdullāh Bā Makhramah (to him) with horses and breast-plates, and he (Badr) accepted (them) from him, and left him as he was in

his land. Bā Ḳab made peace with the sultan (Badr) in return for a (present of) breast-plates and money, but later did not pay what he had promised in full. So the sultan sent his soldiers to Yashbum, and they plundered and burnt it. Then the sultan returned to Shabwah."

وصله ابن عبد الواحد صــاحب حبّان إلى شَبْوَه وطلبه
المسير معه إلى خصوم له هناك مثل با قَب صاحب يَشْبُم وابن
سِدّه فعزم معه السّلطــان بجنده وطلبه المصنّعَه فلمّا علم بَا قَب
شرد إلى الجبال وأمّا ابن سِدّه فأرسل الفقيه عبد الله با مَخْرَمَه
بخَيْل ودروع فقبل منه وتركه على حاله فى بلده وبا قب اصطلح
هو والسّلطان على دروع ومال ثمّ لم يفَِى (sic) بما ضمنه فجهّز
السّلطان عسكره إلى يَشْبُم فنهبوها وأحرقوها ثمّ رجع
السّلطان إلى شبوه .

From this it seems the son of the founder of the dynasty was alive in 955 H. According to the political notebook he was named 'Abdullāh bin 'Abd al-Wāḥid and died in 998 H. (1589–1590 A.D.). We have evidence then that the dynasty was established in the first half of the tenth century H. I noticed on several occasions that members of the Wāḥidī family were addressed by others as Yā 'Abd al-Wāḥid, notwithstanding that their names were known to the speakers.

(5) For the process of imposition and removal of a ban, see C. Snouck Hurgronje, "L'Interdit Séculier (Rifgèh) en H'adhramôt," *Revue Africaine* (Alger, 1905), no. 256. Al-Fawā'id al-Sanīyah, f. 28*b* seq., notes a Sultan of Tarīm as interdicting a man from irrigating his fields till nearly ruined at the time the corn was in the ear. The man's prayer, however, brought a flood which saved the crop.

(6) Forcible stoppage of cultivation may be occasioned by a shot in the air, or at persons on their way to cultivate their fields accompanied by their animals, *etc.*, or by firing at a man's servants or cultivators, or by taking his animals while he is looking.

I recall an incident in the Maifa'ah area when a tribesman stabbed someone's cows in the stomach, killing them. This strange act might perhaps be another method of forcible stoppage of cultivation.

(7) By blood, murder is meant, and perhaps also wounding, the latter being mentioned as a matter for the sultan's judgment in the 'Awdhali tribal code.

(8) This phrase is common in Ḥaḍrami documents. In Ḥaḍramawt it has come to be applied to the levy made on the date-crop by tribesmen for their forcible protection of the crop from others. Here however, it would seem to apply simply to matters which touch a man's honour, "that which shames and blames," and is used thus in its original sense. Into this category would enter presumably any dispute relating to a woman, or an attack on a protected person, etc.

(9) By "Government", I presume the Wāḥidī Government is intended.

(10) It will be noticed that the qaim does not himself judge cases but makes the necessary arrangements for the normal processes of tribal law to come into operation.

(11) The pledge-holder ('adali) may be a different individual from the judge (hakam), or they may sometimes be the same person. In this case, the qaim of Maifa'ah happened to be the pledge-holder. The sense seems to be that if one party, i.e. the losing party, rejects the decision of the judge, the pledge-holder will, at any rate, return the pledge of the successful party at the trial. The Aḥkām al-Man'ah (see following note), however, declares (fol. 66*b*): "If two men are in dispute for some reason, and each of them delivers a pledge to an Amir, or to a judge (ḥākim), or to the Ḳāḍī, and the two go to law (taḥākam), and judgement is given (wadjab al-ḥaḳḳ) against one of them, the pledge of him against whom judgement is given is withheld (lazima) until he acquits himself (takharradj) of what he owes, and if he (the pledge-holder must be intended) delivers it, the (damages awarded by the) judgement fall upon the man who delivers (the pledge), except if the person in whose favour judgement has been made (ṣāḥib al-ḥaḳḳ) permits him to deliver (it)."

(12) That is to say the hostages handed over before the opening

of the trial. In the Kitāb al-Ādāb wa-'l-Lawāzim fī Aḥkām al-Man'ah of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Faḍl (740 H.) which I found in Tarīm, and which is described in "Materials for South Arabian History II", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1950), much space is given to the definition of penalties for each offence or crime. These fines can be halved, doubled, quadrupled, or even charged eight times, according to the gravity of the circumstance.

(13) Shaikh 'Abdullāh is the manṣab of Ṣa'īd, my host for three days, a man of honesty and sterling character. He is known as Mawlā Ṣa'īd. Shaikh 'Abdullāh had, in his youth, run convoys of supplies through the Turkish lines to the British in Aden, and his son is a dresser in the Aden Government Guards. For a note on the manṣabate, see the appendix to the second part of this article.

(14) 'Alī bin Ḥamad of 'Azzān, a poet of the Bā 'Awḍah, one of our companions *de route*. He would compose, smoking a rishbah, and I have a long poem of his, on the twenty-eight stars of the agricultural year, in basīṭ metre. A curious feature of this case is that all the witnesses whose names figure at the end of this sās belong to the Bā 'Awḍah, although it is evidently concerned with the Bā Rashaid only, belonging to a different confederation. The one exception is the manṣab, who belongs to neither, but is of a Mashā'ikh family, and whose name would figure on all kinds of documents.

(15) The preposition might be rendered either "at God", or "by God". The phrase is reminiscent of naḥnu bi-'llāh thumma bika, We put out trust in God, then in thee, quoted by W. Wright, *Arabic Grammar* (Cambridge, 1933), ii, p. 163. Cf. A. Musil, *Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), 490, "tarâna blawbak (billâh w-bak) 'an flân." Behold we ask Allah and thee to protect us from so and so.

(16) Note the change of pronoun from "he" to "I", both of course referring to 'Alī bin Aḥmad.

(17) Al-'Aṭf, used as a proper name, lying south of 'Azzān, running from it to Naḳab al-Hadjar and thence south. The region has at one time been heavily cultivated, and the old naḳab or channel of pre-Islamic times is still used; it is a cut through a ridge west of the ruined city known as Naḳab al-Hadjar (lit. the cutting of al-Hadjar, the town).

(18) The pronoun must refer to 'Alī bin Sālim bin Rashaid of document 3.

(19) Help me to obtain justice by asking me to produce my witnesses, who will show that I am in the right.

(20) Pronounced Birraghaid. Landberg gives Righaid.

(21) I suspect that the word sāḳiyah (water-channel) is here employed like bīr (well) in Ḥadramawt, to indicate not the channel or well itself, but the lands irrigated by it.

Glossary to the Text

N.B.—Gl. Dath. is C. von Landberg, *Glossaire Datinois* (Leiden, 1920–1942).

زبر pl. زبور. I also heard a variant زبيرة. Syn. وثيقة. Used also in Wādī Ḥadramawt. *A written deed or document.*

شرع pl. أشراع, whence, no doubt, شرائع. *Legal procedure, the analysis and arrangement of various charges contained in a single plaint.* One says: طرحت له شرعي *I have set forth the procedure for trial before you* (which must be agreed to, if the two parties are going to stand trial). لي شرع عليه *I have a right, or custom, against him.*

عاقل *Headman.* Gl. Dath., etc.

حجر pl. حجور. Syn. of حجز in this sense, حجب. *The act of imposing a ban on fields, or preventing by some forcible means or threat of force, their cultivation in any way.* It seems derived from جدر in the sense of, *to wall, enclose with a wall.*

شر *Dispute, quarrel.* Gl. Dath. 2266. Cf. Lane, لا تبدأهم بالشر which he renders, *Begin not ye with them by war.* It seems to be a technical term for "*an incident*", and I have recorded it in the 'Awdhalī tribal code also. In doc. 2, *a cause of trouble.*

تحبيس *Interdiction, stopping by force.* The usage is explained in the notes to the translation.

حديث Gl. Dath. *Conversation, Gespräch, Rede.* Syns. given by Wāhidīs شكي plaint, حكي. See Landberg, *Festgabe* (Leiden, 1909), p. 28 f., 'Ārif al-'Ārif, op. cit., Glossary, p. 41.

حد طرق The sense of this phrase is obviously *to the limit of the roads*, but I cannot explain the form of طرق unless it be a pl. of طريق.

خلف *Except, with the exception of.*

شؤم This word is always used in the common phrase here شؤم ولؤم. Cf. the classical شأم to draw ill-luck, evil fortune on. Ṭāhir

b. al-Ḥusain al-ʿAlawī in his Maḳāmah fī Ahl al-Shirāḥah, says, hādhihi 's-sanah al-Kharīf illā shawm *This year the date-crop is a very little only.* شوم is said to mean شتم *a disgrace, insult.*

لايم One says, لزم عليك *a shame on you*, to a person, for instance, who is mean with a guest, or in any way infringes the canons of honourable conduct. Cf. Gl. Dath. لوم for allied senses. The jingle شايم ولايم means *anything that touches a man's honour*, and probably from that, *anything which it is his duty to protect*. Thence, no doubt, the term is commonly applied to shirāḥah, the protection of date-palms against a fee, so that شايم ولايم comes to have the sense of one's *rights over palm-plantations*, a tangible asset which could be bought and sold, in the Wādī Ḥadramawt at least, up to the British protectorate.

رديم Syn. of حبل رديم is ضامن, *guarantor*, though حبل can also mean *a supporter*. Gl. Dath. ردم *couvrir, boucher*.

حَكَم pl. احكام. Syn. حاكم pl. حُكّام *a tribal judge*.

سالف pl. سوالف. *Precedent, custom.*

رَكَب; *Unfounded claim, baseless petition.* Cf. Gl. Dath. يركب جنانه, *he pretends to be mad*, etc.

مسدوده *Refused, rejected.*

معدّلي *One who holds hostages or pledges, deposited by parties in earnest of their intention to procede to arbitration.* The *pledge* is معدّل pl. معادل. Lane says: "The saying originally relating to the bloodwit (al-diyah), one says, لم يقبلوا منهم صرفًا ولا عدلًا *They did not accept from them a bloodwit, nor did they slay one man for him, of their people who had been slain.*" Here عدل is said to mean *slaying a man for a man*, and صرف *the taking of a bloodwit.* See H. Klein, *Kapitel xxxiii der . . . Kašf al-Ġumma* (Hamburg, 1938), p. 25, where perhaps the word عدل should be understood in this sense.

قطع Gl. Dath. *décider le prix, payer.* My informants rendered the phrase, *acting on behalf of the man in whose favour the decision has been made.*

غريم pl. غُرَماء. Here rendered as, '*one of the two contending parties*, in this case the winning party. Lane says, *one upon whom lies the*

obligation of a bloodwit or the like, adversary in contention, litigant. It also seems to mean *responsible*, perhaps from the sense of *to pay*.

[illegible] Syn. حكم. *judgment, decision.*

[illegible] *Pay, clear, settle*, Gl. Dath. *payer une dette.* One says, [illegible] *Pay your debt.*

مربوع *Fourfold.*

[illegible] This is a conventional phrase, used also in the 'Awdhalī tribal code. A hostage's legs are shackled.

[illegible] Syn. [illegible].

[illegible] *To give.* Gl. Dath. The phrase [illegible] here means *made his plea and defended himself.* Cf. F. Krenkow, *The Grant of Land by Muhammad to Tamīm al-Dārī*, Islamica (Leipzig, 1925), i, 530.

[illegible] *Valid*

[illegible] *Null and void.* Cf. Lane [illegible] *impute, accuse of a vice or fault, disgrace, dishonour.*

[illegible] i.e. [illegible] *The one whose* [illegible] *(ventricule) stands out*, i.e. *a fat man.*

[illegible] Gl. Dath. *prétendre, soutenir.* One says, [illegible] *So and so brought a plaint or accusation.* Cf. [illegible] below. [illegible] *a plaint, accusation.*

[illegible] *Water-channel.* Gl. Dath.

[illegible] *Wadi-bend*, here a proper name.

[illegible] *Go out to work in* (ل). Gl. Dath.

[illegible] (ل) Gl. Dath. *enlever, refuser*

[illegible] (ل) *Reject, disregard.* Gl. Dath. *injurier.* See *infra.*

[illegible] No one could explain this word exactly. Some said it was superfluous (zā'idah). It occurs again, also in the taḳwā and in the da'wā of the second set of documents. It may perhaps be a simple introductory particle. One says [illegible] *either five or six.* It may have the sense of *as for, concerning*, and might be connected with the Class. اما.

[illegible] *To have a claim against, accuse, make responsible for.*

[illegible] One says, [illegible], i.e. [illegible], cf. Gl. Dath.

[illegible] *To aid, assist.* This looks like a derivative from Stem IV of [illegible], with the disappearance of hamzah, as in case of [illegible], reported by Landberg, and *infra.*

ﺛﻘﺎﻝ i.e. ﺍﺣﻤﺎﻝ *Burdens, responsibilities.*

ﻣﻴﺰﺓ *Trial, example.*

ﺧﺎﻳﺮ *Heavy, great*, according to my informants, but perhaps *cruel*, in accordance with Gl. Dath., would be better. See also Lane.

ﺍﺗﺮﻯ One says ﻣﺘﺮﻯ ﺍﻧﺎ *so and so prepared to defend himself against an accusation.* ﺗﺮﻯ *A defence.*

ﺳﺎﻉ *Eligible, having the right, in a position to* . . . So my informants ; but it may be used here in the sense simply of *being, becoming.*

ﺗﺴﻬﻢ *To receive a share* (ﺳﻬﻢ Syn. ﺳﻬﻢ, cf. text, *infra*).

ﺣﺮﺙ *Cultivation.* Gl. Dath., etc.

ﺟﺒﺮ *Like.* Gl. Dath., etc.

ﻳﺘﻢ pl. ﻧﺰﻭﻡ *One who gets a dividend, share-holder.*

ﻳﺒﺰﻥ from ﺑﺰﻥ , Syn. ﺑﻨﻰ.

ﻧﻐﺬ *To give a reason for offence.* Cf. Gl. Dath.

ﻟﺰﻡ *To make responsible.* Allied senses in Gl. Dath.

ﻟﻘﺮﺏ i.e. ﺍﻻﻗﺮﺏ.

(To be continued.)

Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā on Penitence

BY A. J. ARBERRY

BROCKELMANN[1] lists no fewer than forty-four surviving works of the celebrated litterateur Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā (d. 281/894), who was tutor to the caliphs al-Mu'taḍid (d. 291/902)[2] and al-Muktafī (d. 295/908),[3] ten more than the catalogue of titles given by Ibn al-Nadīm.[4] While no detailed study of this important and entertaining author has yet been undertaken and the contents of only one of his books are at all well known,[5] it is evident from his titles that the great majority of these works discuss various ascetic themes; so that Ibn al-Nadīm is sufficiently justified in including him in his section on *zuhhād*, *'ubbād*, and *mutaṣawwifa*. As a traditionist he was reckoned to be trustworthy (*ṣadūq*)[6] by Ibn Abī Ḥātim (d. 327/939),[7] quoting the opinion of his father, Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. al-Mundhir al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanẓalī al-Rāzī (d. 277/890)[8]: this might, indeed, be considered a somewhat biased judgment, for Muḥammad b. Idrīs, as we shall show later, was one of Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā's favourite sources of information. The same favourable estimate was reached by Abū 'Alī Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥabīb al-Asadī (d. 293/906),[9] who, however, added the demurrer that Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā attended a certain Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, of Balkh, who was a liar, a forger, and a fabricator of *isnād*.[10]

It is proposed in this paper to examine the contents of one of the minor works of Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā which is not mentioned in Brockelmann's catalogue, nor apparently anywhere else, but happens to have survived in a unique and singularly interesting copy in the

[1] *G.A.L.* I 153, Suppl. I 247–8.

[2] al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* X 91.

[3] Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (Cairo 1348/1929) 262.

[4] *Loc. cit.*; for a detailed discussion see A. S. Wiener in *Der Islam* IV 413–20.

[5] The *al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda*, lithographed twice in India and printed at Cairo; summarised in al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), *al-Araj fi 'ntiẓār al-faraj* (printed Damascus 1350/1931).

[6] *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* X 89; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* II 224.

[7] *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* III 46–9.

[8] *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* II 132–4; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* IX 31–4.

[9] *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* II 194–5; *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* IX 322–8.

[10] *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* X 90. However, al-Dhahabī (*Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* II 13), who mentions that Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā quoted from him, cites an opinion that he was a marvellous *ḥāfiẓ*; see also *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* I 234–6, where it is stated *inter alia* that he said he went to Baghdad to study the works of Aristotle.

Chester Beatty collection. This little book is entitled, both on the title-page and in the colophon, the *Kitāb al-Tauba*; and its contents suggest that this is an excellently appropriate name. The manuscript is in 30 folios measuring 17·8 × 12·7 cm. (written surface 14·5 × 10 cm.), 18–20 lines to the page; the paper, which is slightly polished, is cream and of but moderate quality; some water stains have obliterated the clear *naskh* script in a few places. The damaged binding, probably of the fourteenth century, is of dark brown leather, flapped, with a rather crude centre ornament, corners, line borders, and stamped frieze, typically Mamluk in style. Though so unpretentious in appearance the little volume is precious not only for the rarity of its principal contents but also on account of other accidental features which are detailed below.

Transmission.

The transcription, which must have been made before the end of the year 598/1202,[1] is undated and unsigned. It opens with a title-page summarizing the chain of descent of the text from author to copyist; this information is recorded at greater length in the beginning of the work (fol. 1 *b*):—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم . عونك يا لطيف حدّثنا الشيخ الإمام العالم الزاهد موفّق
الدين أبو محمّد عبد الله بن أحمد بن محمّد بن قدامة المقدسي أدام الله توفيقه قال قرأت
على الشيخ الفقيه أبى محمّد عبد الرحمن بن جامع بن غنيمة البنّاء ببغداد فى رجب سنة
ثلث وستّين وخمس مائة قلت أخبركم الشريف أبو السعادات أحمد بن أحمد بن عبد الواحد
المتوكّلى فأقرّ به قال انا أبو بكر أحمد بن على بن ثابت الخطيب انا أبو سعيد محمّد بن
موسى بن الفضل بن ماذان الصيرفى بقراءتى عليه بنيسابور سنة خمس عشرة وأربع مائة
انا أبو عبد الله محمّد بن عبد الله الإصفهانى الصفّار نا أبو بكر عبد الله بن محمّد بن عبيد
القرشى المعروف بابن أبى الدنيا الخ

This is indeed an eminent pedigree. The copyist, whose name we may conjecture from a reading-note subsequently analysed[2] to have been Abu 'l-Ḥaram Makī b. 'Alī b. Kāmil al-Ḥarrānī, received the text at first hand from the eminent Ḥanbalī lawyer and author, Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī, who was born at Jammā'īl, near Nābulus, in 541/1146, and died at Damascus in 620/1223[3]: it was, no doubt, this treatise that inspired him to write his own manual on penitents,

[1] The date of the study-note signed by Ibn Qudāma, see below.
[2] Named as owner of the manuscript in Ibn Qudāma's entry.
[3] See Brockelmann I 398, Suppl. I 688–9 with references.

the *Kitāb al-Tawwābīn*.[1] He himself received the text at Baghdād in Rajab 563/April 1168[2] from

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Jāmi' b. Ghanīma b. al-Bannā', a distinguished Ḥanbalī scholar in his day, who was born c. 500/1107 at Maidān (Baghdad),[3] achieved a reputation as a controversialist, and died in 582/1186.[4] Ibn al-Bannā', who called himself by his grandfather's name Ghanīma,[5] received the text from

Abu 'l-Sa'ādat Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Mutawakkilī, of the 'Abbāsid and Hāshimī families, mentioned as a pupil of the eminent al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī,[6] who died at the age of 80—having performed the Ramaḍān *tarāwīḥ* at this advanced age he fell from his roof on returning home in 511/1117,[7] having long since received the text from

Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Thābit al-Khaṭīb, of Baghdad, the celebrated biographer and author of *Ta'rīkh Baghdad*, who was born in 392/1002 and died in 463/1071.[8] He received the text at Nishapur in 415/1024 from

Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Faḍl b. Shādhān al-Ṣairafī, who studied under the eminent, all-but-centenarian, traditionist, Abu 'l-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf al-Naisābūrī al-Aṣamm (247/346, 861/957),[9] whom he supported financially, and died, evidently at a very advanced age, towards the end of 421/1030.[10] It must have been in his extreme youth that he received the text from

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī al-Ṣaffār, an author on asceticism and associate of devotees, who died in 339/950 not having raised his head from the ground for more than forty years.[11] He received the text from

Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā himself.

Contents.

The text of the *Kitāb al-Tauba* consists of 201 separate and distinct sections, each containing a Tradition, saying, or set of verses intro-

[1] No. 7 in Brockelmann's List.

[2] We know from Muhammad Jamīl, *Mukhtaṣar Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila* 45 that Ibn Qudāma went to Baghdad, where he met 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166), in 561/1166 and remained there about four years.

[3] Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān* (Cairo 1323/1906) VIII 123.

[4] Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* IV 274.

[5] Yāqūt, loc. cit.

[6] *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* III 313.

[7] *Shadharāt al-dhahab* IV 64.

[8] Brockelmann I 329, Suppl. I 562–4.

[9] *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* III 73–5.

[10] *Shadharāt al-dhahab* III 230.

[11] Ibid. II 349.

duced by its chain of transmission; as two of these (nos. 3, 41) are identical, the true total is 200. The sections are not numbered, nor are they arranged after any recognizable system, though occasionally there is a group of successive items introduced by the same authority.

The largest group of quotations assigned to a single personality comprises not unnaturally those attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad, being 33 in all (really 32, allowing for one repetition); they are nos, 3, 4, 14–18, 22, 24–6, 41, 57, 75, 77, 79, 83, 90, 112, 128, 133–4, 145, 147–8, 167–170, 178, 182, 191–2. The next largest group (10) relates to al-Ḥasan, sc. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, the celebrated theologian and ascetic (d. 110/728),[1] viz. nos. 68, 118, 143, 149–150, 153, 181, 187, 189–190. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib comes third with 5 sayings (nos. 6, 81, 137, 160, 171). There is a tie with 4 items each between Bakr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Mazanī (d. 106/724 or 108/726)[2] (nos. 42, 144, 155, 173), Mālik b. Dīnār (d. *c.* 130/748)[3] (nos. 65, 100, 165, 185), Mujāhid (d. 103/722)[4] (nos. 12, 23, 51, 158), and Ibn al-Sammāk (d. 144/761)[5] (nos. 10, 46, 63, 96). Fifth highest total of 3 items each is shared between 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd (d. 32/653 or 33/654)[6] (nos. 30, 31, 111), 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797)[7] (nos. 8, 9, 32), 'Aun b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 110/728)[8] (nos. 176, 179, 180), al-Fuḍail b. 'Iyāḍ (d. 187/803)[9] (nos. 62, 163, 199), Jesus (nos. 121, 129, 135), Moses (nos. 37, 40, 54), and Sufyān b. 'Uyaina (d. 198/814)[10] (nos. 86, 161, 193). Two quotations relate to Ibrāhīm b. Adham, the noted prince of Balkh, turned Ṣūfī (d. 162/779)[11]; David (nos. 12, 56), Luqmān (nos. 28, 154), and the Torah (nos. 131, 172) are also cited twice; while there is one reference to the celebrated woman-saint Rābi'a al-'Adawīya (d. 129/947)[12] (no. 105). In all, some 100 names are cited, and there are a few anonymous quotations.

Selected Items

The following selections illustrate some of the interesting contents of this compilation:—

[1] Brockelmann I 66, Suppl. I 102.
[2] *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* I 484–5.
[3] Ibid. X 14–15.
[4] *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 125.
[5] *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* III 132.
[6] Ibid. VI 27–8.
[7] Brockelmann, Suppl. I 156.
[8] *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 140.
[9] Brockelmann, Suppl. I 430; Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliyā'* VIII 84–139.
[10] *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* III 117–122.
[11] *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 255–6; *Ḥilyat al-auliyā'* VII 367–VIII 87.
[12] *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 140.

(7) Received from Abū Ḥafṣ al-Bukhārī > Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ulātha [1] > Ibrāhīm b. Abī 'Abla [2]:

دخلتُ على عمر بن عبد العزيز وهو فى مسجد داره وكنت له ناصحاً وكان منّى مستمعاً فقال يا ابرهيم بلغنى أنّ موسى قال إلهى ما الذى يخلصنى من عقابك ويبلغنى رضوانك وينجينى من سخطك قال الاستغفار باللسان والندم بالقلب والترك بالجوارح.

(8) Received from Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī > 'Abdān b. 'Uthmān > 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak who used to quote:

وكيف تحبّ أن تُدعى حكيماً   وأنت لكلّ ما تهوى ركوبُ
وتضحك دائباً ظهراً لبطنٍ   وتذكر ما عملت فلا تتوبُ

(9) Received from Aḥmad b. Isḥāq b. 'Īsā al-Ahwāzī [3] > Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Muqri' [4] > 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak who used to quote:

ركوبُ الذنوب يُميت القلوب   وقد يُورث الذلّ إدمانُها
وترك الذنوب حياة القلوب   وخيرٌ لنفسك عصيانُها

(10) Received from a man of Quraish, a descendant of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaid Allāh > Ibn al-Sammāk who used to quote:

يا مُدمن الذنب أما تستحيى   الله فى الخلوة ثانيك
غرّك من ربّك إمهاله   وستره طول مساويك

(11) Received from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Azdī [5] who said:

مأتم المذنبين لا ينقضى   آخر الدهر أو يحلّوا اللحودا
وحقيقٌ بأن ينوحوا ويبكوا   إذ عصوا ماجداً رؤوفاً ودودا
ابتدام بالفضل منه أمتنانا   وإذا شاء أنعم الموجودا
كلّ تحكى أحزانها لفؤادى   ولنا الحزن فهو راه جديدا
كيف تفنى أحزانُ من عاهد اللـه مراراً وخان منه العهودا
ويح نفسى ماذا أقول إذا ما   أحضر الله رسله لى شهودا
ثم قال أقر ما عملت وجاوز   ت بما كان منك فيه الحدودا
لم تخفنى لمّا أستترت من الخلق   وبارزتنى وكنت شهيدا
وبعماى كان منك المعاصى   لم تخف سطوتى وتخشى الوعيدا

[1] Qāḍī of the eastern quarter of Baghdad in the reign of al-Mahdī (160–70/775–85) see *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* V 388 9.

[2] Died 152/769, see *Tahdhīb al Tahdhīb* I 142–3.

[3] Died 260/884, see ibid. I 14–15.

[4] Died 212/827 or 213/828, see ibid. VI 83–4.

[5] Died 264/878, see ibid. I 76–7.

(13) Received from 'Uqba b. Mukram al-'Amī[1] > Muḥammad b. Abī 'Adī[2] > al-Ash'ath[3]:

دخلتُ السجن فإذا الفرزدق فى السجن وإذا هو يقرض شعراً فقال إنّى لقيت أبا هريرة فقال يا فرزدق إنّى أراك صغير القدمين فالتمس لهما موضعاً عند الحوض فقلت إنّى قد عملتُ كذى وعملت كذى فقال إنّ التوبة لا تزال تُقبَل ما لم تطلع الشمس من مغربها عمل عبدٌ ما عمل من شىء.

(29) Received from a shaikh of Kināna, who said:

نسيت لظى عند آرتكابك للهوى   كما أنت توقى حرّ شمس الهواجر
كأنّك لم تدفن حميماً ولم تكن   له فى سياق الموت يوماً بحاضر

(32) Received from Aḥmad b. Abī Naṣr[4] > 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak who said:

كُن حَيِيّاً اذا خلوتَ بذنبٍ   دون ذى العرش من حكيم مجيد
قد تهاونت بالاله عميداً   وتغيّبتَ عن عيون العبيد

(33) Received from Muḥammad b. Abī Yaḥyā al-Baṣrī > Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Taimī > Ma'bad b. Ṭauq al-'Anbarī who said:

تلقى الفتى حذر المنية هادباً   منها وقد حدقت به لو يشعر
نصبت حبائلها له من حوله   فإذا أتاه يومه لا ينظر
إنّ أمرءاً أمسى أبوه وأمّه   تحت التراب لنوله يتفكّر
تُعطى صحيفتك التى أمليتها   فترى الذى فيها اذاما تُنشَر
حسناتها محمودةٌ قد أحصيت   والسيّئات فأنّى ذلك أكثر

(34) Received from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Azdī > Ibrāhīm b. Dāwud who said:

ألسنا نرى شهوات النفوس   تفنى ويبقى علينا الذنوب
يخاف على نفسه من يتوب   فكيف ترى حال من لا يتوب

(45) Received from Muḥammad b. Abī Rajā al-Qurashī > Ibrāhīm b. Adham who said:

إنّك لن أدمنت النظر فى مرآة التوبة بان لك قبيح شين المعصية.

(53) Received from Muḥammad b. Idrīs > 'Amrān b. Mūsā b.

[1] Died 243/857, see *Shadharāt al-dhahab* II 104; for other dates see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* VII 250.

[2] Died 194/810, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* IX 12-13.

[3] Died 40/662, see ibid. I 359.

[4] = Aḥmad b. Jamīl al-Marwazī, d. 230/845, see *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* IV 76-7; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān* I 147.

Yazīd al-Ṭarsūsī > Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Malaṭī > Ibrāhīm b. Adham who said:

اللهم انقلني من ذلّ معصيتك الى عزّ طاعتك .

(64) Received from al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān [1] > a man of the Banū Tamīm who said:

أنوح على نفسي وأبكي خطيّةً   تقود خطايا أثقلت منّي الظهرا
فيا لذّةً كانت قليلاً بقاؤها   ويا حسرةً دامت ولم تبق لي عذرا

(72) Received from al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān > Abū 'Uthmān al-Mu'addib who said:

لا تنس ذنبك إنّ الله ساتره   واستغفر الله من ذنب تباشره
خف غبّ ذنبك وارج الله مزدجراً   لعلّ ربّك بعد الخوف غافره
كم من هوى لك مقرون بمعصية   أصبحت تركبه والله ساتره
يزّينت ظاهرك المدخول باطنه   إن صحّ باطنُ عبدٍ صحّ ظاهره
اعمل فإنّك تُجزى ما عملت به   مهما عملت فإنّ الله خابره
أسِرّ ما شئت إنّ الله [ ]   [ ] قلبك لا تخفى سرائره
لا شيء أحسنُ من شيء تقدّمه   ما كان من حَسَنٍ فالله شاكره
لا يبرح المرء أعمالاً تقلّدها   أليس في عنق الإنسان طائره
البرّ أكرم زادٍ والتقى شرف   والخير أجمع لا تبلى ذخائره

(85) Received from al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān who quoted:

يا أيّها الخالي بلذّاته   تذكّر الموت وغصّاته
ومصرعاً منه على غرّة   وعلّةً من بعض علّاته
إن كنت أصبحت به موقناً   وجاهلاً بعد بميقاته
فكيف تغترّ بها ساعةً   لعلّه بعد صواماته
كم مصبح في نعمة آمناً   قد غيّر الإصباح حالاته

(86) Received from al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān who quoted:

اذا كان شغل المرء يزداد كثرةً   وأيّامه مع ذاك تمضي وتنفد
وقد كان في ما قد خلا من [ ]   [ ] حاً الى طرق الردى يترقّد
ولم يك ينوي توبةً لذنوبه   [ ]   [ ] الله ما يتزوّد
لحا الله أقواماً منام وهمّهم   حطام من الدنيا بعيد وبعد

(87) Received from al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān > 'Alī b. Jabala [2] who said:

[1] Died 253/867, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* II 342-3.

[2] Well-known poet, lived 160–213/777–828, see *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* XI 359; Abu 'l-Faraj, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* XVIII 100–14; Ibn Qutaiba, *al-Shi'r wa'l-shu'arā'* 880-3

وخذ لك منك على مهلة وشغيل عيشك لم يخبر
وخف هجمة لا تقيل العثار وتطوى الورود على المصدر خ
ومثّل لنفسك أنّ الرحيل يضمّك في حلبة المحشر اى الرحيل

(99) Received from Muḥammad b. Idrīs > Huraim b. 'Uthmān > Sallām b. Miskīn [1]:

سألتُ نصرانيّاً ما أوّل الزبور قال طوبى لعبد لم يسلك سبيل الأثمة ولم يجالس المستهزئين والخاطئين [2]

(105) Received from a man of 'Abd al-Qais of Basra > Rābi'a al-'Adawīya:

اللهم قد وهبتُ لك من ظلمني فأستوهبني من ظلمتُ .

(107) Received from Muḥammad b. 'Amrān al-Ḍabbī [3] > Ibn Kunāsa [4] who said:

كفى تَلَفاً بالمرء يأتمّ صالح ركوب المعاصي عامداً واحتقارها
وكيف بنفسي في الذنوب مقيمة ضعيف على متن العذاب اصطبارها
جنت موجبات النار ثمّة أصبحت تلهّى بدنيا قد تولّى خيارها

(115) Received from al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān > Sa'īd b. Wahb [5] who said when having walked far on the Pilgrimage:

قدمي أعتورا رمل الكثيب وأطرقا الآجن من ماء القليب
ربّ يوم رحتما فيه على زهرة الدنيا وفي وادٍ خصيب
وسماع حسن من حسن صخب المزهر كالظبي الربيب
فأحسبا ذاك بهذا وأصبرا وخذا من كلّ فنّ بنصيب
إنّما أمشي لأنّي مذنب فلعلّ الله يعفو عن ذنوبي

(116) Received from Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad > a man of Basra who would not take shelter from the sun when entering the Sacred Territory and said:

ضحيت له كي أستظلّ بظلّه اذا الظلّ أضحى في القيمة قالصا
وجالت نفوس الناس [ ] غارَ الماء شاخصا
هنالك إن قال أمرؤٌ ليت آنّي أردّ الى الدنيا فقد كنت قامصا
فيا حسرتي إن كان سعيك باطلاً ويا خيبتي إن كان حظّك ناقصا

[1] Died 167/774, see *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 263. [2] Psalms I 1.

[3] Tutor of the caliph-poet Ibn al-Mu'tazz (251–5/866–9), see *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* III 132–3.

[4] Noted poet, died 209/824, see *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* V 204–8, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* IX 259–60.

[5] Well-known poet who died in the reign of al-Ma'mūn (201–18/815–33), see *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* IX 73–4 where those verses are quoted, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* XXI 104–10.

(121) Received from Isḥāq b. Ismā'īl [1] > Jarīr [2] > al-A'mash [3] > 'Amr b. Murra [4] > Sālim b. Abi 'l-Ja'd [5]:

قال عيسى بن مريم لبنى اسرايل زعمتم أنّ موسى نهاكم عن الزنا صدقتم وأنا أنهاكم عنه وأحدّثكم أنّ مثل حديث النفس بالخطيّة كمثل الدخان فى البيت إن لا يحرقه فإنّه يثير ريحه ويغيّر لونه ومثل القادح فى الخشبة لا يكسرها فإنّه ينخرها ويضعفها.

(123) Received from an informant whose name has been obliterated by water:

ألا يا غافلاً تحصى عليه   من العمل الصغيرة والكبيره
يُصاح به ويُنذر كلّ يوم   وقد أنتشه غفلته مصيره
تأهّب للرحيل فقد تدانى   وأنذرك الرحيلَ أخٌ وجيره
وأنت رخىّ بالٍ فى غرور   كأن لم تقترف فيها صغيره
وكم ذنبٍ أتيت على بصيره   وعينك بالّذى تأتى قريره
تحاذر أن تراك هناك عين   وإنّ عليك للعين البصيره
وكم حاولت من أمرٍ عظيمٍ   مُنِعْتَ برحمةٍ منه وخيره
وكم من مدخلٍ لو متّ فيه   لكنت به نكالاً فى العشيره
وُقيت السوء والمكروه فيه   ورُحت بنعمةٍ فيه ستيره
وكم من نعمةٍ لله تُمسى   وتُصبح ليس تعرفها كبيره

(125) Received from a philosopher-poet:

ما تنقضى فكرتى ولا عجبى   من متادٍ فى اللهو واللعب
[   ] شديدة الطلب
وهو يُرتجى خلود منزلةٍ   مخلوقةٍ للفناء والعطب
أخىّ لا تغترر فأنّك لا   بدّ ستلقى الحمام عن كثب
تُبْ من خطاياك وأبكِ خشيةً ما   أثبت منها عليك فى الكتب
أيّة حالٍ تكون حال فتىً   صار الى ربّه ولم يتب

(126) Received from a philosopher-poet:

الى الله تُبْ قبل القضاء من العمر   أخىّ ولا تأمن مساورة الدهر
ولا تستحقّنّ عن دعاى فإنّما   دعوتك إشفاقاً عليك من الوزر

[1] Died 225/840, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* I 228–7.
[2] Died 175/791, see ibid. II 69–72.
[3] Died 148/765, ibid. IV 222–6, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 220–1.
[4] Died 116/734 or 118/736, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* VIII 102–3, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 152.
[5] Died 100/719, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* III 432–3, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 118

فقد حدّثتك النائبات زولها   ونادتّك إلاّ أنّ سمعك ذو وقر
تنوح وتبكي للأخلة أن مضوا   ونفسك لا تبكي وأنت على الأثر

(129) Received from Abū Isḥāq al-Ādamī > Zaid b. 'Auf[1] > Ḥammād b. Salama[2] > Dāwud b. Abī Hind[3] > Shahr b. Ḥaushab[4]:

بينا عيسى بن مريم عليه السلام جالساً مع الحواريّين اذ جاء طائرٌ منظوم الجناحين باللؤلؤ والياقوت كأحسن ما يكون فجعل يدرج بين يديهم فقال عيسى دعوه لا تنفروه فإنّ هذا بُعث لكم آيةً فخلع مسلاخه فخرج أقرع أحمر كأقبح ما يكون من الطير فأتى بركةً فتلوّث في حمّاتها فخرج أسود فجاء فاستقبل جرية الماء فاغتسل ثمّ دعا الى مسلاخه فلبسه فعاد اليه حسنه وجماله فقال عيسى إنّما بُعث هذا لكم آيةً إنّ مثل هذا كمثل المؤمن اذا تلوّث في الذنوب والخطايا نُزع منه حسنه وجماله فاذا تاب الى الله عاد اليه حسنه وجماله .

(135) Received from Ḥamza b. al-'Abbās[5] > 'Abdān b. 'Uthmān[6] > 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak > 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bahrām[7] > Shahr b. Ḥaushab > Abū Huraira[8]:

بينا المسيح في رهط من الحواريّين بين نهرٍ جارٍ وجيّةٍ منتنةٍ أقبل طائرٌ حسن اللون يتلوّن كأنّما هو الذهب فوقع قريباً فانتفض فسلخ عنه مسكه فإذا هو أقبح شيء حين سلخ عنه مسكه أقيرع أحيمش فانطلق يدبّ الى الجيّة المنتنة فتمعّك فيها وتلطّخ بنتنها فازداد قبوحاً الى قبوحه ونتناً الى نتنه ثمّ انطلق يدبّ حتى أتى نهراً الى جنبه ضحضاح صافٍ [sic] فاغتسل فيه حتى رجع كأنّه بيضة مقشرة ثمّ انطلق يدبّ الى مسكه فتدرّعه كما كان حين أوّل مرّةٍ فكذلك مثل عامل الخطيّة حين يكون في الخطايا وكذلك مثل التوبة كمثل اغتساله من النتن في النهر الضحضاح ثمّ راجع ذنبه حين تدرّع مسكه .

(151) Received from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain > 'Ubaid Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Taimī[9] > Zuhair al-Salūlī[10] > a man of Bal'anbar who said:

[1] See *Lisān al-mīzān* II 509.
[2] Died 167/783, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* III 11–16, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 262.
[3] Died 140/757, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* III 204–5, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 206.
[4] Died 100/719, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* IV 369–72, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 119.
[5] Died 260/874, see *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* VIII 179–80.
[6] Died 221/837, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* V 313–4.
[7] See ibid. VI 109–10.
[8] Died 57/677, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* XII 262–7.
[9] Died 228/843, see ibid. VII 45–6.
[10] Died under al-Ma'mūn, see ibid. III 352.

بكيتُ على الذنوب لعظم جرمي　　وحقّ لكلّ من يعصي البكاء
فلو كان البكاء يردّ همّي　　لأسعدت الدموع معاً دماء

First Authorities

Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā quotes at first hand from about 100 informants in the course of the *Kitāb al-Tauba*, the great majority are of course responsible for a single item. Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. al-Mundhir al-Tamīmī al-Rāzī, to whom reference has been made above, easily leads the field of authorities with no fewer than seventeen entries (nos. 47–9, 52–3, 55–6, 68–9, 73–4, 89, 95–9). Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain al-'Āmirī al-Baghdādī comes second with ten items (nos. 35, 127, 133, 151, 176, 179, 180, 182–4), closely followed by al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jarjarā'ī with nine (nos. 63–4, 72, 84–8, 115). Fourth place goes to Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Marwazī who is quoted six times (nos. 70, 181, 193, 198–9, 201); the same total is credited to Ya'qūb b. 'Ubaid al-Nahrutīrī (nos. 20, 26, 43, 60, 114, 128). Of his teachers named by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī,[1] al-Dhahabī[2] and Ibn Ḥajar[3] it may be noted that he cites his father Muḥammad[4] once (no. 188), Sa'īd b. Sulaimān al-Wāsiṭī[5] once (no. 167), Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Mauṣilī[6] once (no. 170), Khalaf b. Hishām[7] once (no. 163), Khālid b. Khidāsh[8] once (no. 169), Suraij b. Yūnus[9] once (no. 189), Dāwud b. Rushaid[10] once (no. 196), and 'Alī b. al-Ja'd[11] thrice (nos. 51, 77, 177). No doubt the special character of the book largely influenced this unexpected distribution.

Below are given brief notes on the commonest used authorities in this book, with tables showing some of their *isnād*: a critical examination establishes the soundness of those chains of descent and confirms Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā's reputation as a careful scholar according to the accepted standards of the Muslim science of Traditions.

[1] *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* X 89.
[2] *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* II 224.
[3] *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* VI 12.
[4] See *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* II 370.
[5] Died 225/840, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* IV 43–4.
[6] Died 236/850, see ibid. I 9.
[7] Died 229/844, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* III 156–7.
[8] Died 223/838 or 224/839, see ibid. III 85–6.
[9] Died 235/850, see ibid. III 257–9.
[10] Died 239/853, see ibid. III 184–5.
[11] Died 230/845, see ibid. VII 289–293.

Muḥammad ibn Idrīs

Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. al-Mundhir b. Dāwud al-Ḥanẓalī al-Rāzī was born in 195/811, and wrote his first Traditions in 209/825; he afterwards taught the subject in Baghdad. His study-travels lasted seven years, in the course of which he walked more than 1,000 leagues. In 214/830 he came to Basra intending to stay there a year, but was only able to afford to remain eight months, and even then by dint of selling his clothes and being reduced to absolute destitution. From Bahrain he travelled to Cairo, Ramla, and Tarsus, amassing a vast collection of Traditions and establishing a wide reputation as a sound and learned scholar; he was quoted by such eminent authorities as al-Bukhārī, Abū Dāwud, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja. He died in Sha'bān 277/November 890 at the age of 82.[1]

Muḥ. b. Idrīs

Ḥammād b. Humaid (*Tahdhīb* IV 6–7)	'Abda b. Sulaimān *Tahdhīb* VI 460)	Mūsā b. Aiyūb (*Tahdhīb* X 336–7)	Ya'qūb b. Ka'b (*Tahdhīb* XI 394)	Suwaid b. Sa'īd (*Tahdhīb* IV 272–5)
Aiyūb b. Suwaid (*Tahdhīb* I 405–6)	Isḥāq b. 'Īsā (*Tahdhīb* I 245)	Makhlad b. al-Ḥasan (*Tahdhīb* X 72)	al-Walīd b. Muslim (*Tahdhīb* XI 151–5)	Mūsā b. 'Umair (*Tahdhīb* X 364–5)
Abū Rāfi' (*Tahdhīb* I 294–6)	Yazīd b. Bazī' (*Lisān* VI 284–5)	Khaṭṭāb al-'Ābid (*Tahdhīb* IV 146)	'Uthmān b. Abī 'l-'Ātika (*Tahdhīb* VII 124–6)	Ja'far b. Muḥammad (*Tahdhīb* II 103–5)
	Zaid b. Aslam (*Tahdhīb* III 395–7)			Muḥ. b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain (*Tahdhīb* IX 350–2)

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusain

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥurr al-'Āmirī al-Baghdādī, called Ibn Ishkāb, had his original home in Nasā of the province of Khurāsān. His grandfather took part in the Abu 'l-'Abbās rising which led to the establishment of the Abbasid caliphate; his father grew up in Baghdad where he studied and taught Traditions and Law, dying in 216/831.[2] Ibn Ashkāb,

[1] *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* II 73–7, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* II 132–4, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* IX 31–4.

[2] *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* VIII 17–8.

who was younger than his brother 'Alī (d. 261/875),[1] was cited twice by al-Bukhārī in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and was generally regarded as truthful and trustworthy; he died at the age of 80 on 10 Muḥarram 261/25 October 874.[2]

Muḥ. b. al-Ḥusain

Ismā'īl b. 'Umar (*Tahdhīb* I 319)	**Ḥajjāj b. Muḥ. (*Tahdhīb* II 205–6)**	**'Ubaid Allāh al-Taimī (*Tahdhīb* VII 45–6)**	**Bakr b. Muḥ. al-Baṣrī (*Lisān* II 57)**	**Sulaimān b. Ḥarb (*Tahdhīb* IV 178–180)**
Mu'arraf b. Wāṣil (*Tahdhīb* X 229–230)	**Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq (*Tahdhīb* XI 433–4)**	**Zuhair al-Saljūlī (*Tahdhīb* III 353)**	**Sālim b. Nūḥ (*Tahdhīb* III 443)**	**Ḥammād b. Salama (*Tahdhīb* III 11–15)**
Muḥārib b. Dithār (*Tahdhīb* X 49–51)	**Abū Isḥāq (*Tahdhīb* VIII 63–7)**		**'Umar b. Mūsā (*Tahdhīb* XII 4)**	**al-Jurairī (*Tahdhīb* IV 5–7)**
	Abū Juḥaifa (*Tahdhīb* XI 164–5)		**'Aun b. 'Abd Allāh (*Lisān* IV 387–8)**	**'Abd Allāh b. Shaqīq (*Tahdhīb* V 253–4)**
	'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (*Tahdhīb* VII 334–9)			**The Prophet**
	The Prophet			

al-Ḥusain ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān

Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jarjarā'ī, fellow-townsman of Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl the vizer of al-Mutawakkil and al-Musta'īn who died in 251/865,[3] was used as an authority by Abū Dāwud, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja; he died in 253/867.[4]

al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān

Ibrāhīm b. Rajā (*Lisān* I 56)	Dāwud b. Rushaid (*Tahdhīb* III 184–5)	'Alī b. Jabala (*Shadharāt* II 30)	Sa'īd b. Wahb (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād* IX 73–4)
Ibn al-Sammāk (*Tahdhīb* III 132)	Manṣūr b. 'Ammār (*Lisān* VI 98–100)		

[1] Died 261/875, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* VII 302–3.
[2] Ibid. IX 121–2, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* II 223–4.
[3] *Mu'jam al-buldān* III 80.
[4] *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* II 342–3.

Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān (Abū 'Abd Allāh) Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Shaqīq b. Dīnār (or b. Muḥammad b. Dīnār) al-'Abdī al-Marwazī, whose father, a well-known traditionist in his day and an authority on Ibn al-Mubārak, died in 215/830,[1] was quoted by al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī and used by al-Bukhārī and Muslim; he died in 250/864 or 251/865.[2]

Muḥ. b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan

Ḥāmid (*Lisān* II 163)	'Alī b. al-Ḥasan (*Tahdhīb* VII 298–9)	Ibrahīm b. al-Ash'ath (*Lisān* I 36)	Ibrāhīm b. al-Ash'ath (*Lisān* I 36)	Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān (*Tahdhīb* VI 83–4)
Muḥ. b. al-Mubārak (*Tahdhīb* IX 423–4)	Abū 'Abd al-Raḥīm (*Tahdhīb* III 132)	Sufyān b. 'Uyaina (*Tahdhīb* IV 117–122)	al-Fuḍail b. 'Iyāḍ (*Tahdhīb* VIII 294–7)	Ḥayāt b. Shuraiḥ (*Tahdhīb* III 69–70) + Ibn Lahī'a (*Tahdhīb* V 373–9)
al-Auzā'ī (*Brock. Suppl.* I 308)	Muqātil (*Tahdhīb* X 279–285)		al-Thaurī (*Tahdhīb* IV 111–15)	Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb (*Tahdhīb* XI 318–19)
	al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (*Brock. Suppl.* I 102)		Ḥabīb (*Tahdhīb* II 178–180)	Abū 'Amrān al-Tujībī (*Tahdhīb* I 365)
			'Urwa b. 'Āmir (*Tahdhīb* VII 185)	Abū Aiyūb al-Anṣārī (*Tahdhīb* III 90–1)

Reading Notes

The manuscript is particularly rich in reading notes, and the most important of these are here summarized.

(1) Entry by the celebrated Ḥanbalī scholar and author Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī, who as recorded above transmitted the text to the copyist:

سمع علي هذا الجزء جميعه بروايتي له بالإسناد المذكور في أوّله صاحبه الفقيه أبو
الحرم مكي بن علي بن كامل الحراني وعورض له بهذه النسخة الأصل والشيخ أبو

[1] *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* XI 371–2.

[2] *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* III 55–6, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* IX 249–50.

الفتح نصر بن رضوان بن ثروان العدوى والسيّد الشريف أبو المناقب شرغلب بن ذرور بن سرغلب الحسنى الدينورى والشيخ أبو محمّد القسم بن محمّد بن على التاجر المقرىء المعروف بكرميخ يوم الأحد السابع والعشرين من ذى القعدة سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمسائة كتبه عبد الله بن أحمد بن محمّد بن قدامة المقدسى حامداً لله ومصلّياً على رسوله محمّد وآله ومسلّماً.

(2) Record of a second reading with Ibn Qudāma by a group of scholars, dated 25 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 605/31 May 1309 and signed by 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Naṣr Allāh al-Tanūkhī al-Ḥanafī, who acted as *qāri'* jointly with Taqī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. Ni'ma al-Maqdisī.

(3) Record of a third reading with Ibn Qudāma, dated Rabī' II 618/May 1221 and signed by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid, the *qāri'* being Abū Yūsuf 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān b. Yūsuf al-Maqdisī, and the owner at this time Ḥusain b. 'Abd Allāh al-Maqdisī al-Mujallid al-Mu'adhdhin.

(4) Lengthy record of a reading with 'Izz al-Dīn Abū 'Umar 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd Allāh b. Jamā'a al-Kinānī al-Shāfi'ī, the distinguished biographer (d. 767/1366),[1] signed by 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan al-Zarandī al-Anṣārī, who was born *ca.* 710/1310, began his studies as a Shāfi'ī, then adopted the Ḥanafī School and became the first Ḥanafī *qāḍī* of Medina in 766/1365, where he died in 772/1371.[2] Among others named as being present at this reading, which is dated 755/1354 and must have taken place in Medina, are :—

(i) Badr al-Dīn Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Ṣadr al-Dīn Abi 'l-Barakāt Aḥmad b. Majd al-Dīn Abu 'l-Rauḥ 'Īsa called Ibn al-Khashshāb al-Qurashī al-Shāfi'ī, described as *ḥākim* of Medina. Born in 698/1298, he was successively *qāḍī* of Aleppo and, in 754/1353, of Medina; from the latter post he was deposed in 756/1355, so that this session took place exactly half-way through his brief tenure of office. He died on the way to Cairo in 775/1374.[3]

(ii) Fakhr al-Dīn Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Sirāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad called Ibn Kuwaik al-Shāfi'ī, brother-in-law of Ibn Jamā'a and his deputy, who taught Traditions at the Qubba Baibars and died in 769/1368.[4]

[1] Brockelmann II 72, Suppl. II 78.
[2] Ibid. I 12–13.
[3] Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāmina* III 142–3.
[4] Ibid. IV 24–5.

(iii) Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar, son of Ibn Jamā'a, who was born in 720/1320 and died at Cairo in 776/1374.[1]

(iv) Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Bakr, son of Ibn Jamā'a, who was born in 728/1328, studied during his father's lifetime, but afterwards gave himself up to frivolity and squandered his inheritance; he died at Cairo in 803/1401.[2]

(v) 'Afīf al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maṭarī al-Anṣārī, who was born at Mecca in 723/1323 and died at Medina in 787/1385.[3]

(vi) Taqī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, brother of the foregoing, a learned lawyer (whereas 'Afīf al-Dīn specialized in Traditions), who died at Aleppo in 765/1364 or 766/1365.[4]

(vii) Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' called Ibn al-Naqīb al-Shāfi'ī, a well-known Shāfi'ī scholar and author, son of a former Christian slave, who was born in 706/1306 and died in 769/1368.[5]

(viii) Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ismā'īl [al-Madanī al-Muqri'], Imām and Khaṭīb in the Prophet's Mosque, who died in 785/1383.[6]

Some of the foregoing were accompanied by their slaves who are named.

[1] Ibid. III 172.

[2] *al-Durar al-kāmina* II 245-6.

[3] Brockelmann, Suppl. II 104.

[4] al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍau' al-lāmi'* XII 47-8.

[5] Ibid. II 340.

[6] *al-Durar al-kāmina* III 457.

Dutch Travellers in Arabia in the Seventeenth Century.

PART I.

By C. F. BECKINGHAM

THE attempt of the Dutch to develop trade with Arabia in the seventeenth century occasioned several journeys in the Yemen which are ignored in the histories of Arabian exploration. The earliest of the travellers, Pieter van den Broecke, wrote an account of his voyages, well known in his own century, which included a description of his visit to Ta'iz and San'a.[1] For our knowledge of his successors we depend principally on the records of the Dutch East India Company and enough of these have now been published to show the nature and extent of Dutch enterprise.

The arrival of the Dutch in the Indian Ocean, like that of the English a few years before them, infringed the commercial monopoly and challenged the naval supremacy of the Portuguese. The relations of the latter with Arabia had been more extensive and varied than those of the Dutch were to be. They had visited the coasts from the Hasa to Jidda and their ships had sailed once within sight of Suez. Though their power was now declining they still possessed Ormuz and Muscat and from time to time Portuguese priests passed through Aden or Mocha on journeys between Goa and Ethiopia. By contrast the Dutch never built a fort in Arabia nor had more than two factories, at Mocha and Shihr, of which the second was very short-lived. There were only four ports at which they called frequently, Mocha, Aden, Shihr, and Qishn, though they came to Hodeida and Muscat occasionally. Inland, their travels were restricted to the pashalik of San'a. Nor did they ever visit Arabia except to trade. Herein also they differed from the Portuguese who had had three distinct aims in the East, all of them apparent-

[1] *Korte Historiael ende Journaelsche Aenteyckeninghe van al 'tgheen merckwaerdich voorgevallen is, in de langhdurrighe Reysen, soo nae Cabo Verde, Angola, als insonderheydt van Oost-Indien*, etc., Haarlem, 1634. There were several other Dutch editions. A French version, which sometimes paraphrases and sometimes abridges the original, is included in C. de Renneville, *Recueil des voyages qui ont servi à l'établissement et aux progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, tom. 7, 1725. V. d. Broecke is not mentioned in Hogarth's *Penetration of Arabia* or in R. H. Kiernan's *Unveiling of Arabia*. His account of his Arabian journey was used by Sir William Foster in editing the relevant parts of the *Journal of John Jourdain* (Hakluyt Society), 1905.

in their contacts with Arabia. At times they had behaved as crusaders continuing their national war against the Moors and requiring no other pretext for attacking a town than that its inhabitants were Moslems. At other times they had been missionaries, and at others they had sought merely to secure the benefits of eastern trade. The Dutch were never crusaders, rarely, and in Arabia never, missionaries but always merchants.

These differences were only to be expected. The Portuguese had come to the Indies as servants of their King and agents of his policies, whether religious, political, or economic, and, in name at least, they were all of the same faith. The Dutch came as employees of a commercial company, whose concern it was to make profits, a company not closely controlled by any of the organs of government of the Republic, and so one not readily used for other than mercantile ends. Besides, they belonged to different churches. A man of Catholic sympathies, like the Governor-General Maetsuycker, who ruled at Batavia from 1653 till 1678, the longest tenure of that office on record, would hardly have supported any missionary activity of which his Calvinist directors could have approved.[1] It was natural that Dutch policy in Asia should be decided primarily by commercial considerations.

In Arabia, however, the Dutch did not have to divert trade to the Cape route by blockading the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf as the Portuguese had tried to do. They were not trying to develop a new trade route but to use one already well established. The power they soon acquired in the East Indies enabled them to monopolize some of the most costly spices, such as cloves and nutmegs, and even to regulate the quantity to be grown. What attracted them to Arabia was not the transit trade to the Levant, or the need for intercepting it, so much as the possibility of direct trade with the Arabs themselves and of sharing in the entrepôt trade of the Red Sea, much of which was then conducted at Mocha. It is not surprising, therefore, that they concentrated their attention on the most fertile and populous part of Arabia, nor that their behaviour there was sometimes very conciliatory. To achieve their purpose they needed to preserve friendly relations with the inhabitants and the ruler of the Yemen. When the Dutch first arrived there, the country was subject to the Sultan of Turkey, one of the

[1] Catholics were usually excluded from appointments in the Indies. Maetsuycker came of a Catholic family and was certainly not a practising Calvinist.

most powerful monarchs in the world and the traditional enemy of their own enemy, the House of Austria. Besides, there was a lucrative trade between Holland and the ports of the eastern Mediterranean, all of which were in his dominions and from which he could have excluded them.

At first the Dutch paid no attention to Arabia. Linschoten, who had spent six years at Goa and whose writings did much to interest them in the possibilities of the eastern trade, recounts, in his *Itinerario* the familiar story of the suspension of Muhammad's coffin between the ground and the roof; like many of his contemporaries he believed that this was at Mecca and that it was the object of the Moslem pilgrimage. He refers to Aden as a former Portuguese fort, which is hardly accurate, and to no other Arabian towns. He also mentions that incense is produced in Arabia and that Socotran aloes are the best.[1] The first Dutch fleet to round the Cape of Good Hope left Holland in 1595, sailing direct to the East Indies, and the Dutch East India Company was established in 1602, but it was not until 1614 that a ship was sent to Arabia. On 28th July of that year Gerard Reynst, then on his way to assume the post of Governor-General at Bantam, decided that as the Red Sea had not yet been visited, the yacht *Nassau* should be detached from his fleet and sent there to do anything that could be done to serve the Company's interests. Pieter van den Broecke was appointed Captain-Major and left the rest of the fleet near Malindi on 2nd August.[2] His own account of his visit to Arabia is as follows[3]:—

"Thanks be to God, on the 26th of the same month Arabia came in sight about half a mile[4] below Aden.

I at once sent our boat thither, and the Under-merchant[5] with a white flag to explain to the Governor the reason for my coming. When he reached land he was well treated by the Turks and the Governor at once sent the Under-merchant back on board to me with a good quantity of fish and fat sheep, saying we were welcome.

Next day we moved close in by the fort in seven fathoms of water, alongside some small Arab, Persian, and Indian ships which had

[1] *Itinerario Voyage ofte Schipvaert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten* (Linschoten Vereeniging), dl 1, 1910, p. 25; dl 2, p. 34.

[2] V. d. Broecke, p. 39

[3] Ibid., pp. 40-6. The extracts are translated from the text of the Haarlem edition of 1634. The paragraphing of the original has been kept.

[4] V. d. Broecke's mile is the German mile, i.e. about 5 English miles.

[5] Onder-koopman.

moved under the fort after they had, in fright, unloaded their goods at night.

The Captain of the Soldiers came on board at the Governor's command to visit the ship and welcome us. He invited me to be the Governor's guest on land at midday which, as we had come there to trade entirely in friendship, I could not refuse.

About midday there came from the land such terrible darkness, like a squall of rain, accompanied by a redness like a glowing oven, that it was wonderful and dreadful to look at. The Governor sent on board to say that we should drop two or three more anchors. When it had passed over the ship was all covered with red sand as thick as one's thumb. The storm drove out towards the land of Ethiopia. When I had landed and the Governor had had us brought to the palace, with full honours from all the troops, he told me that the dark cloud had come from the sand sea and that often whole caravans with people and camels were swallowed up and, when found, had been mummified.

When I had given my present to the Governor, Hessen Aga, he asked what people we were and why we had come there. I answered him that we were Hollanders and vassals of their High Mightinesses the States-General and the Illustrious Prince of Orange, allies and friends of the Grand Seignior of Constantinople, and that we came as friends to trade, as our people did to all places belonging to his master.

He replied that inasmuch as we came as good friends the country was open to us, but that the Bassa, Viceroy of Jamen [1] or Arabia Foelix, must first be informed. Meanwhile he provided us with a good house.

In the end, after I had eaten well with him I went on board to make arrangements and I sent the Under-merchant with some merchandise consisting of cloth and Nuremberg wares.

When I came ashore another time later I learned from the Aga that the Bassa would not agree that I might leave people and goods there until I came again.[2] I parted from him on friendly terms and went away leaving him and all the foreign merchants in

[1] The Pasha, Viceroy of Yemen. The correct title of his office was Vali; the Turks did not use any term corresponding to Viceroy.

[2] In a letter of 26th October, 1615, Reynst stated that the Dutch had been forced to leave Aden because they had been taken for Englishmen, who came there only to plunder. H. Terpstra, *De Opkomst der Westerkwartieren van de Oost-Indische Compagnie*, 1918, p. 108 n.

great fear of being captured although they had moored their ships close under the castle.

Thence I went to the Arab town of Chihiri.[1] The King at once sent us a *selbi*, or skiff, made of planks sewn together with coir,[2] with refreshments consisting of goats, sheep, fish, and fruit to make us welcome.

Note. To the great surprise both of us and of the people of the country a great shoal of strange fish, most like the Portuguese sardine, came to the roadstead. They had never been seen before, so they called them Hollanders. They were taken so plentifully for about three years that they had a surfeit of them, and dried them and gave to the camels to eat. Thereafter they were never again seen or caught.

Next day, the 20th of the same, I visited the King on land and was escorted to the palace by many Arab soldiers and merchants. They brought us to a fine, large house where everything was served plentifully, all for fear of a violation of his roadstead, and they affirmed that the whole country was open to us so long as we came as honourable merchants.

We asked to be allowed to leave two or three of our people there to learn the language before my return, so that I could report on my actions to the Lord General at Bantam, for the monsoon or season was past. They immediately gave us permission and a good house. I took this opportunity and left ashore an Assistant [3] named Anthony Claesz. Visscher, and two other men with a little cash and some Nuremberg wares of poor quality. I took friendly leave of the King, recommending him to have our people well treated. He promised me to care for them like the apple of his eye.

The same day, before I left, I sent the Under-merchant Wouter Heute on board to bring a bag of money. As they were coming back from the ship the skiff ended by capsizing among the great rollers, the money was lost and they swam to land.

Briefly, when the water was at its lowest, I promised a piece of money to anyone who could fetch up the bag. Many efforts were made to do so, until they lost their courage. In the end the Quartermaster, Cornelis Harmensz, who was a good swimmer, went back

[1] Shihr.

[2] This is precisely the definition of the Arabic word "jalba" given in Dozy's *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*.

[3] Assistent, a grade below an Onder-koopman.

again in good heart. As he dived his foot touched the bag which he brought back, to the great surprise and admiration of those who had stayed on land. After that we at once left for Catsinni.[1]

The town of Chihiri is situated in Arabia Foelix, in latitude 14 degrees 50 minutes north of the line,[2] increasing westerly variation 17 degrees. It lies on an arid strip of sand in a large bay where there is good anchorage in 8 fathoms, about a falconet shot from land. The town is large in extent because the houses are so far from each other. They are all built of clay coated outside with lime. It has a castle with four round corner-towers, effective against an assault but not against cannon. There are three or four mosques or temples, and it is the principal seaport the King has.

He resides mostly inland in the town of Hadermuidt, about one day's travel from Chihiry.[3]

The King, Soltan Abdulla,[4] is, like his subjects, a pure Arab. Every year he has to contribute to the Bassa Viceroy, for the Grand Seignoir, 4,000 rials of eight and twenty pounds of good ambergris.

They are honest, kind, and friendly people, modest and sedate in character and devout believers in Mahomet.

The women of rank go about wholly veiled, are very lascivious, and have prettily shaped figures and limbs. Parents hold it a great honour whenever their daughters have knowledge of strangers and offer them for little money when very young.[5] Many Banians from India and Persia live here. They are mostly artisans.

[1] Qishn.

[2] The correct latitude is 14° 45′ N.

[3] Hadramaut is, of course, the name not of a town, but of a wadi and, by extension, of the whole region. The place meant here is probably Hainin or Saiwun. In 1590 the Jesuits Páez and Montserrat found Sultan 'Umar of Shihr residing at Hainin. It is, however, much more than one day's journey from Shihr. Dr. R. B. Serjeant informs me that he considers it unlikely that the Sultans would have often resided at Shihr at this period as they were pursuing a policy of expansion westwards.

[4] 'Abdullah b. 'Umar Bū Ṭuwairiq, 1021–45 A.H. (1612/13–1635/36 A.D.) See Ṣalāḥ al Bakrī al Yāfi'ī, *Fī Janūb al Jazīrat al 'Arabiya*, Cairo, 1949. I am indebted to Dr. Serjeant for this reference. According to a MS. journal of V. d. Broecke's preserved in Leyden University Library the Dutch were received at Shihr not by the Sultan but by his governor. Terpstra, p. 109, n. 3.

[5] Landberg, *Dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, vol. iii, Leiden, 1909, p. 908, remarks that almost all the Bedouin tribes of the high mountains between the Yemen and Hadramaut have the custom of offering the guest the use of a woman for the night. Dr. Serjeant tells me that this is the practice of the Humum tribe who would use Shihr as one of their principal markets, but remarks that it would be surprising if such a usage prevailed in a town like Shihr where there were Ulema to discourage it.

It is visited every year by many ships from India, Persia, the islands of the Commoiros,[1] Madagascar, and Melinde. We left as many as thirteen or fourteen little ships lying in the roadstead.

We reached Catsinni which lies right at the entrance of the Red Sea on the coast of Arabia Foelix, in latitude 15 degrees 32 minutes,[2] and anchored in 6 fathoms on a rocky bottom about a falconet shot from land.

Having landed I was received by the King, Saydt bon Sahidij,[3] and about 1,000 of his soldiers, all with wide, bare broadswords on their shoulders. He led me by the hand to his palace where we were well served. I asked the King for liberty to leave people there until my return. He gave permission immediately. Then afterwards I learnt that he was a good friend of the Portuguese, who came there to trade every year, and on the other hand was an enemy of the Turk. We decided on this occasion to leave, and, after a friendly farewell, we set to work and did so."

Van den Broecke now sailed for Bantam. As he was approaching Java he met the fleet which Pieter Both, the retiring Governor-General, whom Reynst had replaced, was taking back to Holland. Both was eager to know the results of Van den Broecke's reconnaissance in Arabia and the latter went aboard the *Delft*, the flagship of the homeward bound fleet. The *Nassau* reached Bantam on 30th December. On 25th August of the next year the Council decided that Van den Broecke should make another voyage to Arabia in the same ship, but this time with an adequate cargo of nutmegs, mace, cloves, pepper, and Chinese goods.[4] On 22nd October the famous Jan Pietersz. Coen, then President at Bantam, wrote to Holland to the effect that the *Nassau* had been sent to Mocha with a cargo worth over 123,000 florins in the hope that the sale of spices and Chinese goods there would supply ready money for the purchase of indigo and clothing at Surat.[5] On his way, near Colombo, Van den Broecke captured a small ship loaded with cinnamon and bound for Cochin, where her cargo was to have been transferred to a carrack and sent to Lisbon. The cinnamon he took with him for

[1] The Comoros.

[2] The term "Red Sea" as used by the Portuguese and Dutch often included the Gulf of Aden. Qishn is in latitude 15° 25′ N.

[3] Possibly Saiyid Ibn al Sa'idi. I have not been able to identify him.

[4] H. T. Colenbrander (ed.), *Jan Pietersz. Coen. Bescheiden omtrent zijn Bedrijf in Indië*, 5 dl. 1919–1923, dl 3, pp. 346, 7.

[5] Ibid., dl 1, p. 130.

sale at Mocha. His description of this, his second and most important visit to Arabia, is as follows [1] :—

"We arrived off Chibiri on 8th January, 1616. I found that two of our men were still there, Anthony Claesz. Visscher and Abraham Crabbe,[2] who had previously been left to learn the language. Both they and the inhabitants were very glad at our coming. I at once ordered the Under-merchant Wouter Heute ashore, in place of Anthony Claesz., with a small cargo of things the people needed. We went on to Mocha where, thanks be to God, we arrived on the 25th of the same month, to the great astonishment of the inhabitants, for never before had anyone from our European nation been there.

Here lay in the roadstead more than thirty Indian, Persian, and Arab ships, large and small, which were much alarmed at our coming.

The Governor at once sent a skiff with two or three Turks to the ship to learn what kind of people we were and why we had come. When I had informed him of everything he at once returned to land. Next day, the 27th of the same, I went ashore and was taken with drum and fife to the Governor's palace. He asked me again what was the nation to which we belonged and why we had come.

When I had informed him of all to his satisfaction he bade us very welcome, and had a coat of gold brocade put on me, according to the custom of the country. After I had eaten well with him he had us taken to a fine house which had been prepared for me. The rent was 140 rials of eight for the monsoon, or six months. I made an agreement with the Governor that, within the jurisdiction [3] of the Bassa Viceroy of Arabia Foelix, I should not pay more than 3½ per cent on incoming and outgoing merchandise.[4] In brief, next day I brought ashore a quantity of goods which were sold at a good price for cash rials and gold ducats.

On 6th March a caffel [5] or caravan arrived here from Alleppo and Suwees, about 1,000 camels strong, laden with the following merchandise—about 200,000 rials of eight and 100,000 ducats, Hungarian, Venetian, and Moorish, excluding what was not declared,

[1] V. d. Broecke, pp. 54–68.

[2] The third, Johan Jochumssen, had died. Terpstra, p. 110, n. 3.

[3] Op 't avoyeren. Avoyer is the French equivalent of Voogd or Landvoogd, a term applied by the Dutch to the Vali of the Yemen and to the Governor of Mocha.

[4] Terpstra quotes the Leiden MS. as saying 3 per cent, Terpstra, p. 110, n. 5. So does V. d. Broecke himself below on two occasions.

[5] Arabic qafila.

besides velvets, satins, damasks, sarcenets, Turkish gold brocade, camelots, cloth, saffron, quicksilver, vermilion, and Nuremberg wares. They are usually two months on their way. These goods mentioned above are mostly traded by the Indians, Persians, and Arabs against fine and coarse cotton clothing, indigo, pepper, cloves, nutmegs, mace and Chinese wares.

The same day, for the first time at Mocha, I had the Prince's flag unfurled over our house with the Governor's permission, not without grumbling from the foreigners.

It was so hot here by day and at night that I could not exist without having water constantly poured over me.

On 21st April the Bassa sent me a Firman or letter of credence instructing all his lords and governors to receive me at all places as they would himself in person, and expressly ordering the Captain of the Galleys to escort me up to him at his court with twenty [1] Turkish soldiers.

So next day we set off up country on horseback with the Under-merchant Jan Arentsz.,[2] the trumpeter, and two soldiers.

We passed a village and came in the evening to a little town, eight miles from Mocha, called Moussa,[3] where we were well received by the Governor and stayed for the night.

Next day we passed a small fort, seven miles from Moussa, named Acuma,[4] and three miles further on we lodged at the fort of Asavinde.[5]

[1] Sixteen, according to the Leiden MS., Terpstra, p. 111, n. 2.

[2] Jan Adriaansen, according to the Leiden MS., ibid., p. 111, n. 3.

[3] Mauza'. The distance is about 19 English miles. Admiralty *Handbook of Arabia*, 1917, vol. i, p. 231.

[4] Not identified. Sir Henry Middleton, whose account of his return journey from San'a to Mocha in 1611 is preserved by Purchas, pt. 1, bk. 3, ch. 2, calls this place Accomoth and describes it as a "censor", i.e. simsara, a Yemeni word for a caravanserai, 17 miles from Mauza', "standing in a barren common with a few Cottages by it." Benjamin Greene, who accompanied Middleton, and whose MS. is in the India Office records, Marine Records, Journals, vol. xii, calls it Acmā and gives the distance as 20 miles. He describes it as "an Inn or Sensor upon the topp of a little hill compassed rounde with his rocky mountaines", and as a "very barren place with only a few date trees". The name may be derived from "akama", a hillock. A wadi and a mountain of this name are shown near Mauza' on the 1/253,440 map of the Aden Protectorate, G.S.G.S. 3892.

[5] Not identified. Middleton calls it Assambine and gives its distance from Accomoth as 13 miles. He describes it as a "censor" and remarks: "Here is no Towne but a few poore Cottages." Greene gives the distance as 18 miles and says: it is an "Inn or Censor . . . with some 20 small cottages or shoppes adjoyning to yt", lying in a basin among high mountains, and adds: "heere is noe victualls nor water butt what is drawne owt of a pitt, wch is butt very little."

Next day we passed the little town of Offuse,[1] three miles from Assvinde, where we were received by a company of Turkish soldiers and taken to the Governor's palace to eat. This place is impregnable for it lies on the slope of a high steep mountain and two persons can hardly climb up side by side. The Governor was an Arab. He honoured me with a cloth coat for the cold which first began to be dangerous at that place. In the evening we came to the Saray of Mota,[2] two miles from Offlosse (*sic*).

Thence we came to the large walled town of Tayesse,[3] four miles from Mota. We lodged with the Governor who provided everything in plenty and supplied us with fresh horses, camels, and donkeys. I walked about the town somewhat, so as to look at everything. There are six high towers and many mosques inside, and the

[1] This is the Yifrus of the 1/1,000,000 map. Middleton calls it Eufras and says it is 11 miles from Assambine. He writes: "The Towne little, scituate on the side of a hill. About the fift of January great multitude of people resorteth hither from farre, where they doe some foolish Ceremonies to one of their Saints and holy men, which lyeth buried there . . . The Governour of this Towne is a Turke." The saint is Abu'l Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn 'Alwân, whose death is recorded by the historian Al Khazrajī, *The Pearl Strings; a History of the Resûliyy Dynasty of Yemen*, vol. iv, 1913, p. 160. The modern route, taken by Niebuhr and, with a slight variation, by Manzoni, lies well to the west. D'Anville's map shows "Eufras" in a direct line with Mocha and Ta'iz. Niebuhr did not visit it. He calls it "eine ziemliche Stadt" and refers to the tomb of Ibn 'Alwân, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, 1772, p. 243. His map places it too far north and east but, having himself travelled from Mocha to Ta'iz by the more direct route, he was less in error than D'Anville.

Middleton passed through Yifrus on his way to and from San'a and this was evidently a usual route for travellers to take in his time. It may be identical with the "Buzeria" of Jourdain, who went from Aden to San'a and from San'a to Ta'iz and Mocha in 1609. He says: "Wee departed from Taics, and came to a towne called Buzeria; which towne standeth on a mountaine, and hath a castle neere belonginge to it, in the which are 200 soldiars of the Turks." *The Journal of John Jourdain*, 1608-17, Hakluyt Society, 1905, p. 97. Sir William Foster, the editor of the volume, left Buzeria unidentified. The particulars given agree with the descriptions of Middleton and V. d. Broecke but the name is unexplained. The night after leaving there Jourdain "laye in a sarraye which standeth in a plaine feild, where travellours use to lodge". He does not mention the name The following day he reached Mauza'.

[2] Not identified.

[3] Ta'iz. Middleton says it is 16, Greene 12 miles from Yifrus. The "six high towers" cannot be precisely identified. The Sharifiya mosque has two minarets, the Jami' Masjid has one. The other principal mosque has no minaret at all, but there are numerous smaller mosques, many of them now ruinous. Niebuhr's illustration shows seven towers or minarets within the walls. *Reisebeschreibung*, 1774, Tab. 67. The Pasha's tomb is the Qubba Husain, illustrated in Hugh Scott, *In the High Yemen*, 1942, photograph 43.

magnificent tomb of a Bassa, which had cost well over 100,000 rials of eight. Here much inland trade is carried on.

Thence we went on to the village of Acar,[1] 5½ miles further, and passed the village of Mayios,[2] on the slope of a high mountain. There, as I sat on my horse, I saw with amazement ploughing, sowing, and the reaping of fully ripe corn.[3] This happens year in and year out, at all seasons. Moreover, the ground there is mostly stony. In the evening we lodged at the town of Ype,[4] 2½ miles from Mayios, where we went to bathe in a fine bath, as in Turkey.

In the morning we went to the town of Machadder,[5] 5½ miles from Ype, thence to the town of Nakasmarre,[6] and so on to the walled town of Jerrime.[7] 6½ miles from Machadder. Here great hailstones began to fall as large as any I have seen in my life.

Next day we arrived at the town of Dammer,[8] 3½ miles from Jerrime where I was received by well over 100 Turkish soldiers and brought before the Governor, who was a Hungarian and who had a royal feast ready for us.

In the middle of this town is a castle of blue freestone,[9] built by an Italian. It has round towers and is poorly provided with guns. Thence we marched on to the village of Serasia,[10] 5 miles from Dammer, where the Bassa's secretary ordered me to remain. However, a splendid meal was ready for us here, consisting of harts, hinds, hares, partridges, quails, pigeons in pasties, roasts, and all kinds of fruits, tarts, and marzipans, with red wine made here in the country.

Next morning we started before daybreak and when we were near the mountains the secretary sent me, in the Bassa's name, a splendid

[1] Possibly Al Qa'ida. It is about 21 miles from Ta'iz. Admiralty *Handbook*, vol. ii, p. 277.

[2] Suq al Mahras.

[3] Ameen Rihani, *Arabian Peak and Desert*, 1930, p. 59, records having seen the spring crop in the ear growing around the threshing floor where the winter wheat was being threshed. He was told that the soil of the Ta'iz district yielded even four crops a year. Ibid., p. 60.

[4] Ibb, 16 miles from Suq al Mahras. Admiralty *Handbook*, vol. ii, p. 278.

[5] Al Makhadir, 17 miles from Ibb. Ibid., loc. cit.

[6] Naqil Sumara.

[7] Yarim, 20 miles from Al Makhadir. Ibid., loc. cit.

[8] Dhamar, 25 miles from Yarim. Ibid., vol. ii, p. 271. Niebuhr mentions the large castle, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, p. 235.

[9] Arduyn-steen.

[10] Ziraja, 22 miles from Dhamar. Admiralty *Handbook*, vol. ii, p. 273.

horse with gold and silver trappings on which I was to enter the town.

When we came somewhat nearer we met the commander-in-chief of the army on horseback, with about 300 Turkish and Arab soldiers, ranged on foot behind five standards. They fired three times and marched before us.

Near the town of Chena [1] the Bassa welcomed us with more than two hundred of his principal noblemen, very splendid in cloth of gold and silver, on horseback, and as the sun was rising, glittering like a silver mountain and wonderful to look at. He sent to me two pretty young men dressed in women's clothes to say I was to follow him unobtrusively. They asked us to wait at the palace, and therewith he rode on.

When we entered the town we had difficulty in making our way through the people who had come out to see like a body of troops. The Bassa's secretary and two of his young men on horseback made a way for us by riding through the people.

When we reached the palace one of the Bassa's servants took my horse by the bridle and brought me to the audience hall right onto the carpets. There for the first time I had to dismount and I walked forward through the principal noblemen, who were standing on either side, to the Bassa who sat in a raised place with great dignity as though he were a God. When I had paid him suitable respects he made me sit down. Hereupon the Captain, who was my interpreter, said: 'Lord, may fortune be yours, the Captain cannot sit in this way.' Thereupon he had a splendid chair brought. When I was seated he asked me with a severe countenance why I had come. When I had explained the reason for my coming he placed his hand on my head saying: 'You are welcome. I know well that you are tired from a long journey. Go and rest. We could not well talk to one another here.' He made his secretary put a gold brocade coat on me, as a token of welcome. I was then escorted on horseback by four or five of the principal noblemen through the town to the Major-domo's house to eat.

After the meal they took us thence to the house that had been prepared for me, which was well stocked with all requirements like sheep, poultry, wine, and whatever else is needed for housekeeping.

The town of Chenna lies about 3 miles from the village of Serasia

[1] San'a.

where we had slept that night. So we had travelled from Mocha to Chenna, about 85 miles, in nine days.[1]

After I had given my presents to the Bassa and his noblemen I was invited as a guest to the secretary's palace by many of the noblemen. I was served with everything in abundance and many pleasant pursuits were followed.

This garden was most agreeable, having all kinds of fruit trees, almonds, peaches, oranges, lemons, citrons, and grapes, a great many roses, splendid pleasure houses, playing fountains and pretty pavilions. As I sat at table in this garden a terrifying big tame leopard[2] ate up the fragments from the table like a dog without hurting anyone.

Thence I went to the Bassa's castle where more than 1,000 men, women, and children were kept as hostages, being the brothers, children, and sisters of great lords of the country from certain provinces, who are thus coerced by the Bassa and do not again revolt. There is a great treasure and many remains of ancient times, in particular a great house which they say was built by Noah, where the Bassa's women live and are closely guarded by the eunuchs. Moreover there is a beautiful temple and before the entrance of the portal is a large piece of wood enclosed in an iron grille which is said to come from Noe's ark. They hold it to be a relic and of great worth.[3]

As I stood on the castle walls our trumpeter began to blow 'Wilhelmus van Nassouwe'. A Turkish soldier at once touched me on the shoulder, saying: 'Stop, Captain, do you think that the castle belongs to you?' I made such excuses as were possible, as is due on such occasions, and he became friendly, saying that he had had many kindnesses from our nation when he had been captured with Spinola's galleys before Duynkercke.[4] He took us to a terrible big lion in a tower, in an iron cage.

[1] Zeraja is 25 miles from San'a, ibid., loc. cit. The distances given for the stages from Mocha to San'a in the Admiralty *Handbook* amount to 234 miles, but allowance must be made for the modern route from Mocha to Ta'iz which is more direct than the one taken by V. d. Broecke.

[2] Laypaert. A cheetah must be meant. He uses the same word when describing hunting with cheetahs in Gujerat, V. d. Broecke, pp. 127–8.

[3] Legends connecting places in S.W. Arabia with the Flood and the family of Noah are very common. The building of the castle of Ghumdan at San'a is ascribed to Shem.

[4] Federigo Spinola commanded eight galleys, five of which were captured by the English or Dutch, sent to assist his more famous brother Ambrogio at the siege of Ostend, 1602–3.

Here we saw a well which they say was made by our forefather Jacob. It was more than 100 fathoms deep. The water, which is hauled up in leather buckets, is so cold that it can hardly be borne against one's teeth. Hereabouts there also stood a square temple, on a platform whereupon were more than 100 pillars, each one formed of a single block of stone, and other remains dating from long before the birth of Christ.

Later on the Bassa informed me that he refused my request to leave people at Mocha, saying that I brought no letters from the Grand Seignior of Constantinople without whose consent he himself did not dare to consent. Besides which, their doctors were afraid that little by little we should come to Mecca where their prophet Mahomet lies buried.[1] By way of example they alleged Chihiry, thereafter Aden, now Mocha and already we were in Hideda. They told him our yacht had gone there so as to go further up the Red Sea where no Christian nation might come. So, because of the fault committed, without my orders, by those on the yacht,[2] I achieved nothing except that the contract for 3 per cent on outgoing and incoming goods was continued, to the great amazement of the population there and of the Persian, Indian, and other merchants who had to pay 15 or 16 per cent in customs dues.

Next day, by the Bassa's orders, I and the secretary had to accompany fifty or sixty of the principal noblemen to the garden of Rosse.[3] We rode rather less than a mile from the town. Everything was served in plenty and many pleasant pursuits were followed.

It is an agreeable place, well supplied with splendid pleasure houses, fountains, delicate fruit trees and fish ponds.

On 16th May I took friendly leave of the Bassa who again honoured me with a coat of gold brocade, and was escorted outside by a fine company of people.

The town of Chena lies on the river of Jammen or Arabia Foelix,[4] about 50 to 55 miles inland from Mocha, as is related above. Its circuit is about two leagues. It is walled all round with hard,

[1] A very common mistake at this time.

[2] The conduct of V. d. Broecke's crew and subordinate officers was often unsatisfactory during this voyage. There were discreditable quarrels with the inhabitants of Mocha and V. d. Broecke was fined two months' pay for keeping bad discipline. H. T. Colenbrander, dl 4, pp. 137–8 and 140–1.

[3] Arabic rauḍa, a garden, the name given to a place about 5 miles north of San'a, famous for its vineyards.

[4] A torrent bed traverses the western part of the old city of San'a.

unbaked, grey brick, which is nevertheless durable. It has three large, fine gates built of blue freestone.[1]

At intervals of a bowshot are small round towers with embrasures. It has four high towers belonging to mosques or temples [2] and a great number of fine buildings, pleasure houses, dwellings, and hot baths, where the men go to wash before noon and the women afterwards. The women of the town mostly go about the streets wholly veiled, with many female slaves behind them, as they do in Turkey. These are nearly always Christian children captured by the Turks in the Levant, by which means they have populated these countries.

The Bassa, Jaffer Bassa by name, is a Hungarian by birth and resides here as Viceroy of the Grand Seignior of Constantinople. Like the Viceroys from Portugal [3] they are relieved every three years and others are sent in their place. But this Bassa has now ruled for over nine years and has made war on the Arabs continually. It is said that he had the other two who came to replace him poisoned on their way.[4]

They all believe in Machomet, as they do throughout Turkey, and much trade is done by the Banian, Indian, Persian, and Jewish merchants.

On the 24th of the same, thanks be to God, I arrived again at Mocha, to the no little joy of our people and the great jealousy of the inhabitants and foreign merchants because of the contract I had made with the Bassa for customs dues of 3 per cent, whereas they had to give 15 or 16. They petitioned about this, being surprised

[1] These are the walls of the old or eastern part of the city. The western suburbs were still unwalled in Niebuhr's time. The gates meant are probably the Bab al Yaman, the Bab al Sabah, and the Bab al Sha'ub. The other important gate in the walls of the old city leads into the citadel.

[2] There are semi-circular bastions at frequent intervals round the walls of the old city. The mosques now number forty-four, nearly all being in the old city and there are over twenty minarets; Niebuhr, however, counted only nine or ten. V. d. Broecke is probably referring to the twin minarets of the Jami' al Kabir and those of the Bakiliya and Mahdi Abbas mosques.

[3] The text reads: "als *Diwanores, not Portugael*," which is nonsense but is found in all the Dutch editions. Renneville keeps the word Diviaores. I have assumed in translating that the correct reading is "als de Visoreys". Three years was, in fact, the normal term of office of the Portuguese governors, only a few of whom were given the title of Viceroy.

[4] He arrived in the Yemen in the late summer of 1607. A. S. Tritton, *The Rise of the Imams of Sanaa*, 1925, pp. 4, 30. Ibrahim Pasha arrived to replace him in 1613 but died before Ja'far had left the country and the latter resumed his authority. Ibid., p. 55.

that such favour should be shown to us unbelieving dogs and not to them, who were faithful Machomettans. This did not help them. He said frankly that such was his pleasure.

I afterwards saw in the house of Captain Mime,[1] commander of the galleys, a hairy sheep from Ethiopia, with six horns,[2] for which I offered ten rials of eight; likewise another with sleek hair from Paep Jan's country,[3] with such a big, broad tail that it dragged behind it and was a third of the sheep's weight after it had been killed.[4]

In fine, when I had completed my business at Mocha, I left for Chihiri, in God's name, on 7th July, on friendly terms, leaving the skippers and merchants in great fear of being captured.

The celebrated town of Mocha lies in the Red Sea on the coast of Arabia Foelix, in latitude 13 degrees 18 minutes north,[5] increasing westerly variation 13 degrees 25 minutes. It has a passably good roadstead. There is anchorage in 4, 5, 6, or 7 fathoms on a sandy bottom.

It is large in extent, not walled, but open, and has many large, fine houses, some of blue stone blocks and brick, others of rushes and clay. At the north end of the town is a little round castle of blue freestone, built at the time when Sir Herry (*sic*) Middelton and his ships dominated Mocha.[6]

Mocha was only a fishermen's village forty or fifty years ago. After the Turks took possession of the country it began gradually to

[1] The Turkish historian Na'ima mentions a Bey of Rhodes named مي who was prominent in naval fighting in the Mediterranean about 1611, *Tarikh-i-Na'ima*, 1147 A.H., vol. i, pp. 282, 296. A Bey of Damietta of the same name was killed in 1614. Ibid., p. 298.

[2] William Bateson, *Materials for the Study of Variation*, 1894, p. 285, refers to the occurrence of sheep with three pairs of horns as individual freaks. Mr. T. C. S. Morrison-Scott of the Dept of Zoology, British Museum (Natural History), who has kindly allowed me to consult him on this question, writes: "There is a breed of four-horned sheep which was fairly commonly kept in this country some years ago and which appears to have originated in Africa."

[3] Prester John's country, i.e. Ethiopia.

[4] For the occurrence of fat-tailed sheep in Abyssinia see W. T. Blanford, *Observations on the Geology and Zoology of Abyssinia*, 1870, p. 273, but they are also common in Arabia. H. Scott, p. 163.

[5] The latitute of Mocha is 13° 19′ N.

[6] It had been walled before Niebuhr visited it. The "little round castle" is presumably the Qal'a Taiyar, on a promontory to the north; it is marked on Niebuhr's map. He also remarked upon the variety of types of houses, *Reisebeschreibung*, p. 438.

flourish, all the more because the great King's ship, which comes every year from Suwees with valuable merchandise on board, runs into great danger in passing Babel mandel before coming to Aden where the most important trading was done. So now Mocha gives the best revenue in the country.

It is fairly well populated with various nationalities. The Governor is a Turk, and so are most of his soldiers, who are over three hundred strong, the rest being Arabs. There are more than 3,000 Banians, who are merchants, silversmiths, moneychangers, and artisans, and cunning Jews, Indians, Persians, and Armenians.

While I was there the following merchant ships arrived: one from Suratte, one from Goga, five from Dio, two from Thouwel,[1] two from Dabul, one from Goa, two from Calicout, three from Cannanor, one from Atsien,[2] one from Maselipatan, sixteen from Neggena, Promiens, and Cadts,[3] one from Monsambicq, two from Melinde, three to four from Ethiopia. They were laden with fine and coarse cotton clothing, indigo, cloves, nutmegs, mace, pepper, cinnamon, sandalwood, aloes-wood, elephants' tusks, ambergris, civet, porcelain, Chinese silks, sugar, rice, tobacco, coconuts,

[1] Chaul.

[2] Atjeh.

[3] Cadts is Cutch; when used as the name of a town Cutch or Cutchnagore is identified by *Hobson Jobson* with Mandvi. Neggena and Promiens must presumably be places in Kathiawar, or at least in Gujerat, since the three are linked together. Neggena may be derived from Nagnah, about 2 miles from Navanagar. It was taken from its owners by a rival Rajput clan in 1535-7 and in 1540 the newcomers founded Navangar, which may therefore be the place actually meant here although the old name is used. See *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. viii, *Kathiawar*, 1884, pp. 560, 620. Promiens is probably the Furmian of the Arabs, the Moane or Permiane of the Portuguese, which Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham has identified as Miani, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 59, p. 219. Miani is a small port 18 miles N.W. of Porbandar; in mediaeval times it was also called Manipur, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. viii, p. 547. Alexander Hamilton mentions Poremain as a port between Diu and Mangrol. Sir William Foster in his edition of Hamilton's voyage, vol. i, p. 82, suggested that this might be Verawal or Patan Somnath, Porbandar, which might seem a more likely identification, being north of Mangrol. Sir William, to whom I am indebted for much assistance in compiling this note, informs me that on reconsideration, he thinks that Hamilton did mean Porbandar but made a mistake about its exact position, and adds: "He mentions no other place with a name anything like Porbandar, yet he could hardly have been ignorant of the existence of that port . . . I fancy that practically nothing was known by Europeans of the ports between the Indus mouth and Diu until 1800 at least. They were not commercially attractive, offering mainly coarse calicoes obtainable elsewhere, and the coast had an unsavoury reputation as the home of cut-throat pirates."

male and female slaves, dried and preserved ginger, coir and benzoin, which are profitably disposed of here. They are mostly carried by caffilas, or by the great King's ship up to Juda, Mecca, Suwees, and Cayro.

They also bring a great number of persons, rich and poor, for the pilgrimage to Mecca, to visit their prophet Machomet. These ships come every year in April and half of March and leave for home in the other monsoon, in August, richly laden with cash and European wares. This year the aforesaid King's ship brought, besides 350,000 rials of eight and 50,000 Venetian and Moorish gold ducats, much woollen cloth, silks, tin, quicksilver, vermilion, saffron, a great quantity of Nuremberg wares, Muscovite leather, fouwa, which is made from the madder root, and Kahauwa, a kind of small black bean, like the little beans of the birthwort,[1] from which they make black liquid which they drink hot.[2]

On the 16th we arrived at Chihiry. To the great distress of the King and the inhabitants I removed the factory and the people I had previously left there. When I came to King Abdalla in his castle they received us very well and offered me good terms if I were willing to stay. I had on that occasion no authority to do so and was provided with a very small cargo. I took friendly leave and departed for India."

[1] Holwortel.

[2] This is said to be the first Dutch reference to coffee. F. W. Stapel, *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indië*, dl 3, 1939, p. 195. The earliest European reference that has been traced is L. Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung der Raiss*, 1582, pp. 102–3.

(To be continued.)

Notes on the Divyāvadāna

PART II.

By D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY

(Continued from J.R.A.S., Parts 3 and 4, 1950.)

III

p. 55, l. 22.

Rājagṛhāc Chrāvastīṃ gantum omitted in T.

p. 56, l. 1.

bhikṣavo omitted in T.

p. 56, ll. 8–9.

The obscurity of the couplet remains in the Tibetan version which, however, suggests that *ke cit* (*kha cig*) was read for *ye* and *janaḥ prabandhati* (*skye bo rnams ni gziṅs ḥchaḥ*) for *janāḥ prabandhitā*. *jano pabandhati* is found in *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, 1, 34.

p. 56, l. 14.

CN.'s conjecture *unnatonnatam* is confirmed by T. (*mtho zhiṅ mtho ba*).

p. 56, l. 15.

Read *āyuṣmantam* ⟨*Ānandam*⟩ *āmantrayate* (T. *tshe daṅ ldan pa kun dgaḥ bo la*).

p. 56, l. 16.

CN. yo 'sau yūpa ūrdhvaṃ vyāmasahasraṃ tiryakṣodaśapravedho

For MSS. variants v. their critical note.

T. . . . mchod sdoṅ srid du ḥdom stoṅ yod la | sboms su ḥdom drug cu yod pa (*similarly at p. 59, l. 16*).

T. ∴ *yūpa ūrdhvaṃ vyāmasahasraṃ tiryak ṣaṣṭivyāmaḥ* ?

p. 56, l. 22.

Read *āvaisanakarena* ⟨*karena*⟩ (T. *dbugs ḥbyin par mdzad pa phyag gis*).

p. 56, l. 24.

CN. paśyanti yūpaṃ draṣṭukāmāḥ |

T. mchod sdoṅ gzigs par bzhed par mthoṅ ṅo |

Read *paśyanti* | *yūpaṃ draṣṭukāmaḥ* ?

p. 56, l. 26.

tatra . . . antarhitaḥ (p. 57, l. 2) omitted in T.

p. 57, l. 6.

CN. kutra *kena* paryupāsitam

T. *ḥdis* gaṅ du bsten lags |

Read *kutrānena*.

p. 57, l. 17.

CN. *tat* te putratve samādāpayiṣyāmīti |

T. de khyod kyi bu bskor bar byaḥo |

Read *taṃ te*.

p. 57, l. 20.

CN. daurgandhaṃ *mukhān* niścarati

T. read *kāyān* or *śarīrān* (*lus las*).

p. 57, l. 21.

CN. sve cāsane *dhṛtiṃ* na labhate)

T. raṅ gi stan la mi *dgaḥ* bar ḥgyur baḥo |

T. = *prītiṃ na labhate*.

p. 58, l. 8.

yasminn . . . *muktaḥ* (l. 9) omitted in T.

p. 58, ll. 24 ff.

The Tibetan shows that here (and, no doubt, on p. 100, ll. 2 ff.) readings should coincide with those of p. 442, ll. 5 ff., down to *saṃvṛttaḥ*: except that *tomaragrahe* (*mdaḥ bo che ḥphen pa*) and *yaṣṭibandhe* (*dbyug pas rdeb pa*) are included in the list, while *śikhābandhe* is omitted.

p. 60, ll. 1 and 5.

CN. svapathy adanam ādāya

T. raṅ raṅ gi rgyags blaṅs nas

T. = *svaṃ svam adanam*.

p. 60, ll. 4.

CN. idānīṃ karapratyāyā nottiṣṭhanta iti |

T. ci phyir da duṅ dpya ñuṅ bar gyur |

T. = *kasmād idānīṃ k. stokā bhavanti*. Similarly *ñuṅ bar gyur* in l. 7.

p. 60, l. 15.

CN. Saṃyamanīcakravartī

So B; samayamanī- *A*, sayamanī- *C*, sayamanīna- *D*.

T. yaṅ dag par sdom paḥi ḥkhor lo sgyur ba

Perhaps *saṃyamanika*-; cf. *Mahāvyutpatti* s.v.

p. 60, l. 24; cf. p. 61, l. 12, and p. 66, l. 18.

CN. maitreyāṃśena sphuritvā . . .

Cf. CN.'s note. The Tibetan *byams pa tshad med paḥi yan*

lag gis would represent *maitryaprameyāṃśena*, which is probably correct in all three passages.

p. 61, l. 20.

CN. 'śītibhikṣukoṭivāro

T. ḫkhor dge sloṅ ḫbum phrag dgu bcu rtsa drug daṅ |

T. = *ṣaṇṇavatibhikṣuśatasahasraparivāro.*

p. 62, l. 2.

CN. ṣaṇṇavatikoṭyo 'rhatāṃ bhaviṣyanti dhūtaguṇasākṣātkṛtā yaṃ [1] ca saṃvegam āpatsyante tatrāsau yūpo vilayaṃ gamiṣyati |

T. *ḫbum* phrag dgu bcu rtsa drug dgra bcom pa *ñid* daṅ | sbyaṅs paḥi yon tan mṅon du bya ba la *brtson par ḫgyur ro* |

T. *ṣaṇṇavatiśatasahasrāṇy arhattvāya dhūtaguṇasākṣātkārāya ca yogam āpatsyante* | ; which at least makes good sense.

p. 62, l. 5.

yugapat omitted in T.

p. 62, l. 7.

'*bhe 'dhvani* omitted in T.

p. 62, l. 15.

Read *Vāsavasya rājñaḥ* ⟨*purohitasya*⟩ *putro* (T. *rgyal po gos sbyin gyi mdun na ḫdon las*).

p. 64, l. 10.

CN. mahārāja balaśreṣṭho *hi rājā no* nipatitavyam |
balaśreṣṭhā hi rājāno *AB.* ("*No is interrogative in the text*" *CN.*).

T. rgyal po chen po rgyal po dpuṅ chen po *rnams la* ni gtug par bya dgos so |

T. seems to have read *rājāno nipatitavyāḥ*; but that would be hardly admissible Sanskrit and CN.'s text may be correct.

p. 64, l. 20.

In T. the break comes after *rājño*; but CN.'s text seems preferable.

p. 65, l. 16.

CN. tair *āgamya* niveditam |

T. legs par brtags nas

T. = "having made a thorough investigation".

[1] yāṃ MSS.

p. 66, l. 23.

idam . . . abhyanandan. Here and elsewhere this concluding sentence is missing in T.

IV

p. 67, l. 16–p. 69, l. 27.

Only the opening and closing phrases of this passage (on the Buddha's smile) are given in the Tibetan; the rest is summarized in the words *goṅ ma bzhin duḥo* (= *pūrvavat*). So also p. 72, l. 19–p. 73, l. 11.

p. 70, l. 12.

Read *agamaṃ brāhmaṇa* | *satyaṃ* . . . (" It is true that . . .). So T.

p. 70, l. 19.

CN. yathā te kṣamate *tathainaṃ* vyākuru |
tathaivam *AB.*

T. . . . de bzhin du lan thob cig |
Read *kṣamata evaṃ vyākuru* ?

p. 70, l. 25.

CN. kiyatpramāṇaṃ tasya nyagrodhasya *phalaṃ*

T. nya gro dha deḥi *sa bon* . . .
Read *vījaṃ.*

p. 70, ll. 26 and 28.

CN. *ko* bho Gautama |

T. kye goḥu ta ma ma lags so |
Read *no* ? Cf. p. 71, l. 18.

p. 71, l. 3.

CN. *naitat* pratyakṣaṃ . . .

T. *bdag gi* mṅon sum du gyur lags so |
Read *mamaitat pratyakṣam* |

p. 71, l. 8.

CN.'s conjecture *vīje ca* is confirmed by T. *zhiṅ daṅ sa bon.*

p. 71, l. 18.

CN. *tato 'nv eva* gāthāṃ bhāṣate |

T. *bcom ldan ḥdas kyis* tshigs su bcad de bkaḥ stsal pa |
Read *bhagavān g. bh.* ?

p. 71, l. 21.

CN. *tad evam etan na* yathā hi brāhmaṇa tathāgato 'smity avagantum arhasi ||
So CN. ex conj. evam etad yathā *ABD,* evam eva tad yathā *C.*

T. bram ze ñe yis ji skad bshad pa de bzhin pas || de bzhin gshegs pa yin zhes rtogs paḥi rigs |

Possibly we should read *bhāṣe yathaivāsti tathā hi brāhmaṇa* (T. = "As I say, so it is").

V

p. 72, l. 8.

As noted by CN. we must read *durād evā⟨drākṣīd⟩* | (T. *mthoṅ ṅo* | *mthoṅ nas . . .*).

p. 73, l. 14.

For *bhadanta* T. had *bhagavan* (*bcom ldan ḥdas*).

p. 73, l. 15.

CN. devāṃś ca manuṣyāṃś ca gatvā saṃsṛtya

gatvā vyavasaṃsṛtya MSS. ("*query* saṃvācya saṃsṛtya, *as in preceding tale*, p. 70" *CN.*).

T. lha daṅ mi rnams su ñiṅ [1] mtshams sbyar ciṅ ḥkhor nas

On p. 70, l. 1, T. has the same reading, except that *ñiṅ* is omitted. That would normally represent *deveṣu ca manuṣyeṣu ca pratisaṃdhiṃ gṛhītvā saṃsṛtya*.

p. 73, l. 28.

CN. kaścid anukūlam bhāṣitam kṛtvā

T. rjes su mthun paḥi *legs par* smra ba ḥgaḥ byas daṅ |

Read *kaccid anukūlaṃ ⟨su⟩bhāṣitaṃ kṛtvā* ?

p. 74, l. 7.

CN. lakṣe praśasto

T. bkra shis rab tu bsṅag

Read *lakṣmīpraśasto* ?

p. 74, l. 12.

Read . . . *tena samayena ⟨yo 'sau brāhmaṇo so 'yaṃ brāhmaṇa eva tena kālena tena samayena⟩ tadāpy . . .* So T.

VI

p. 74, l. 18.

Read *rūpayauvanaśruta⟨mada⟩m anuprāpto* (T. *gzugs daṅ laṅ tso daṅ thos pas rgyags par gyur nas*).

p. 75, l. 16.

For *etad anyāścāryam* T. has *de yaṅ ṅo mtshar zhig* (= *etad apy āścāryam*).

[1] ñin Xyl.

p. 76, l. 1.
Read *gatam abhiprasannam* as in p. 72, l. 3. (So T.)

p. 76, l. 8.
CN. kulā baddhā
T. rtsa ku shas btags te
Read *kuśā baddhā*.

p. 76, ll. 10 ff.
The remainder of this *avadāna* is repeated in *Av.* XXXI (p. 465, ll. 10 ff.), q.v.

VII

p. 80, l. 15.
CN. 'nāthapiṇḍadasyārāma
T. *bdag* gi kun dgaḥ ra ba na
Read *madīyasyārama*.

p. 81, l. 6.
dauvārikaṃ . . . *pratyaśrauṣīt* (l. 10) in T. follows *manyata iti* | (l. 14).

p. 82, l. 12.
CN. tasyāś ca bhikṣāyām *āyāsaḥ* saṃpannaḥ |
āyāma saṃpannaḥ *B*, avāma saṃpannaḥ *C*, bhikṣāyāvāmāma saṃ- *D*.
T. des kyaṅ bslaṅs na ḥbras khu zhig rñed nas
Read *ācāmaḥ*.

p. 82, l. 28.
CN. prāmodyam utpādayasi ahaṃ . . .
T. rab tu dgaḥ ba skyed *cig* daṅ |
utpādayasi must be taken as imperative, if right; cf. p. 76, l. 5, *prajñapayasi* = *shoms shig*, p. 459, l. 19, *pratyabhijānāsi* = *ṅo shes par gyis shig*.

p. 83, l. 16.
CN. *puṇyāpuṇyānām* apratyakṣadarśino
T. bsod nams mṅon sum du ma mthoṅ na
Read *puṇyānām* ; cf. p. 84, l. 12.

p. 83, l. 17.
For *pratyakṣadarśanena puṇyānāṃ* read *pratyakṣadarśy eva p*. (cf. p. 84, l. 13 ; p. 85, l. 21).

p. 84, l. 9.
CN. vicikitsākathaṃkathāśalyaḥ samūla ārūḍho
T. . . . rtsa nas phyuṅ zin na
Read *samūlo vyapárūḍho* ?

p. 84, l. 14.

Read *dānāni na dadāmi* ⟨*puṇyāni na karomi*⟩ | (T. *bsod nams dag mi byyid*).

p. 84, l. 15.

CN. duḥkhā hy akṛtapuṇyatāḥ |
kṛtapuṇyāni modante asmin loke paratra ca ||

T. bsod nams ma byas sdug bsṅal ḥgyur || bsod nams dag ni byas pa yis || ḥjig rten ḥdi daṅ pha rol dgaḥ |

Read *-puṇyatā* | *kṛtapuṇyā hi* ?

p. 85, l. 11.

For CN.'s addition *samudanīya* (presumably a misprint for *samudānīya*) should be substituted *sajjīkṛtya* (T. *sta gon byas nas*).

p. 86, l. 5.

CN. tato '*nyadivase*

T. de nas ñi ma *drug pa* la

Read *tataḥ ṣaṣṭhadivase* ?

p. 86, l. 14.

CN. śvo bhavadbhiḥ praṇīta āhāraḥ sajjīkartavyaḥ prabhūtaś caiva *samudānayi*tavyo yath(ā) . . .

T. khyod kyis saṅ kha zas *ches* bsod pa daṅ | rab tu maṅ po sta gon byos la | *brim pa yaṅ ḥdi ltar* ci nas kyaṅ . . .

Read *praṇīta*⟨*tara*⟩ . . . *prabhūta*⟨*tara*⟩*ś caivaṃ ca pariveṣṭavyo* . . . ?

p. 86, l. 16.

CN. *amātyair* aparasmin divase prabhūta āhāraḥ sajjīkṛtaḥ praṇītaś ca |

T. *de dag* gis phyi de ñin kha zas *ches* bsod pa daṅ | *ches* rab tu maṅ ba bshams te |

Read *tair* . . . *praṇītatara* . . . *prabhūtataraś ca* ?

p. 86, l. 17.

Read bhikṣusaṃghaṃ ⟨viditvā⟩ . . . (T. *rig nas*).

p. 86, l. 21.

CN. yady asya rājñaḥ prabhūtam *antaś cāpaneyam* asti
cāpateyam *MSS.*

T. gal te rgyal po ḥdi la nor rdzas rab tu maṅ po yod na |

Read *prabhūtaṃ svāpateyam* ?

p. 86, l. 28.

CN. bhuñjānasya puraṃ *śanairgamaṃ*
sanairgamam *MSS.*, as also with one exception in p. 89, l. 2.

T. groṅ khyer *yul bcas* ḥkhol byed pa |
T. = "making a servant of (?) the city together with the country". Possibly we should read *sanaigamam* "together with the citizens". The *gāthā* is printed as prose by CN.

p. 87, l. 5.
Either CN.'s suggestion *dakṣiṇā ādiṣṭā* or else *dakṣiṇādiṣṭā* must replace *dakṣiṇām ādiṣṭo*. T. has *yon bsṅo ba mdzad na*.

p. 87, l. 16.
CN. sa unnīto vardhitaḥ paṭuḥ saṃvṛttaḥ
paṭusaṃvṛttaḥ *MSS.*
T. bskyed bsriṅs te de chen por gyur to
Read *mahān saṃvṛttaḥ*.

p. 87, l. 20.
CN. tatraivānayena vyasanam āpannaḥ | alpaparicchedo 'sau gṛhapatiḥ | tasya gṛhapater dhanajātaṃ parikṣīṇam |
T. de de ñid du ma stes te shi bar gyur to | de ched po mi bdog pa zhig pas | deḥi khyim gyi nor rnams zad pas |
T. = *sa tatraiva daivayogena* (cf. p. 29, l. 15, where *ma stes te* = *daivayogād*) *vyasanam āpannaḥ* | *alpaparicchedo 'sau* | *tasya gṛhadhanajātaṃ parikṣīṇam* |

p. 87, l. 22.
tena tasya . . . T. translates: "He addressed him. My boy, work on my field (*kho boḥi zhiṅ las byos shig*) and I will provide you food." For *sukhaṃ bhaktakena* (*mukhaṃ* AB) in ll. 24 and 25 perhaps *mukhabhaktakena* should be read.

p. 88, l. 5.
tāvat omitted in T.

p. 88, l. 9.
For *mṛṣṭaṃ mṛṣṭam* T. has simply *zhim po*.

p. 89, l. 18.
CN. ekaikaś ca bhikṣuḥ śatasahasreṇa vastreṇācchāditaḥ
T. . . . ḥbum riḥi chos gos . . .
Read *śatasahasr⟨ārh⟩eṇa* ? So in l. 25.

p. 89, l. 21.
CN. kroḍamallakena
T. rdzaḥi chag dum zhig thogs te
Read *khaṇḍamallakena* ? (Cf. p. 90, l. 2.)

p. 90, l. 1.
For *samuddānīya* T. had *yācayitvā* (*bslans te*).

p. 90, l. 25.
CN. prāg eva *hastagataś* cīvarakarṇiko vyajanam vā
T. . . . lag pa *dan* | chos gos kyi grva ba dan | bsil yab
Read *hasto vā cīvarakarṇiko vā* . . .

IX

p. 124, l. 8.
CN. *nā* yadaikam vastu *rakṣati* tat saptaguṇam syāt
T. de gan gi tshe gan tsam drus pa deḥi tshe | bdun tsam du skyes par ḥgyur te |
Read *(m)rakṣati.*

p. 124, l. 9.
yadā . . . *sampadyante* (l. 10) omitted in T.

p. 124, l. 12.
dharmatā khalu . . . *gacchanti* (p. 125, l. 23) omitted in T.

p. 125, l. 26.
vītarāgo . . . *bhagavān* (p. 126, l. 14) omitted in T.

p. 126, l. 16.
nirbhartsitā . . . *bhagnaprabhāvās* (l. 17) omitted in T.

p. 126, l. 27.
Read *asmākam vipattiḥ (kā) bhaviṣyati* | (T. *bdag cag la rgud pa ci zhig hbyuṅ bar ḥgyur lags* |).

p. 127, l. 2.
CN. kim vayam *na* tiṣṭhāmaḥ
T. bdag cag ci ste ḥdug |
Delete *na*.

p. 127, l. 20.
CN. yūyam Bhadraṃkarāṇām janapadānām vāsayateti |
(' Bhadraṃkarāñ janapadān āvās- ? CN.).
T. khyed kyis groṅ khyer bzaṅ byed kyi ñe ḥkhor du gnas thob shig |
Read *yūyam Bhadraṃkaranagarasāmantakam āvāsayateti* ? (cf. l. 24).

p. 128, l. 5.
CN. kim asau yuṣmākam bhikṣām *cariṣyatīti* |
T. ci des khyed cag gi sloṅ ba *bkag* par ḥgyur sñam ḥam |
Read *nivārayiṣyatīti* ?

p. 129, l. 3.

CN. yathā 'parijñātaiva kenacid eva . . . gatā

T. bcom ldan ḥdas kyis ji ltar sus kyaṅ mi tshor ba de ltar byin gyis brlabs nas . . .

Read ⟨*bhagavatādhiṣṭhitā tathā*⟩ *yathā* . . . One *eva* should probably be deleted.

p. 129, l. 29.

CN. yo draṣṭum icchati jinaṃ jitarāgadoṣaṃ *nirbandham* apratisamaṃ *karuṇ*āvadātam |
so '*niścarena* hṛdayena suniścitena . . .

T. read, apparently, *nirdvandvam* (*rtsod med pa*), *kanakāvadātam* (*gser gyi mdog can*), and *nirbhayena hṛdayena* (*ḥjigs med sñiṅ gis*). The first is certainly, the others probably right.

p. 130, l. 10.

CN. te gatvā Bhagavataḥ pādābhivandanaṃ kṛtvā purato niṣaṇṇāḥ | yāvad Bhagavataḥ sāmantakena parṣat saṃnipatitā |

T. de nas skye boḥi tshogs chen po ḥdus pas | bcom ldan ḥdas kyi ñe ḥkhor dpag tshad gcig tshun chad ḥkhor bar ḥdug go |

T. = *tato mahājanakāyaḥ saṃnipatito yāvad ekayojanaṃ bhagavataḥ sāmantakena parito niṣaṇṇaḥ* |

p. 130, l. 20.

Read *ghṛtaguḍa*⟨*khaṇḍa*⟩*śarkarāpānakāni* (T. *hvags* = *khaṇḍam*).

p. 130, l. 22.

Read *akāla*⟨*khādya*⟩*kāni* (T. *dus ma yin paḥi bcaḥ ba rnams*).

X

p. 131, l. 4.

abhijñātā omitted in T.

p. 131, l. 22.

CN. tatra cañcu ucyate samudgak*e*, tasmin manuṣyā vījāni prakṣipyānāgat*e* sattvāpekṣayā sthāpayanti mṛtānām, anena te *vījakāyaṃ* karisyantīti | idaṃ samudgakaṃ baddhv*ā* cañcu ucyate |

T. de la za ma tog ces bya ba ni | [1] za ma tog deḥi naṅ du mi rnams kyis ḥbru dag blugs te | maḥ hoṅs paḥi sems can rnams kyi ched du bzhag nas | bdag cag shi na ḥbru ḥdis

[1] *The shad should be placed before* deḥi.

mi de dag gi bya bar[1] byed par ḥgyur ro sñam pa ste | ḥdi ni za ma tog daṅ ḥbrel bas za ma tog ces bya baḥo |

Read *tatra cañcv ity ucyate samudgakaṃ, tasmin . . . prakṣipyānāgatasattvāpekṣayā sthāpayanti, mṛtānām* ⟨*asmākam*⟩ (? gen. abs.) *anena te vījena kāryaṃ kariṣyantīti* | *idaṃ samudgakasaṃbaddhatvāc* (cf. p. 132, l. 6) *cañcv ity ucyate* |

p. 132, l. 3.

CN. idaṃ śvetāsthi durbhikṣam ity ucyate |

T. ḥdi ni rus goṅ dkar po daṅ ḥbrel bas rus goṅ dkar po zhes byaḥo |

Read *idaṃ śvetāsthisaṃbaddhatvāc chvetāsthīty ucyate* |

p. 132, l. 4.

CN. manuṣyāḥ khalu vilebhyo . . .

T. . . . *gyul* gyi ser ga las

Read *khalavilebhyo*.

p. 132, l. 25.

ātmanā ṣaṣṭho omitted in T.

p. 132, l. 28.

CN. *etad* apy aham parityajya niyataṃ praṇair viyokṣye

Read *paribhujya* (T. *zos kyaṅ*); perhaps *etad ahaṃ paribhujyāpi* . . .

p. 133, l. 13.

Read *yadi riktakāni koṣakoṣṭhāgārāṇi* ⟨*paśyeyam*⟩ *sahadarśanān me pūrṇāni syur* (T. *gal te . . . bltas pa na* | *mthoṅ ba dehi mod la* . . .).

p. 133, l. 24.

For *kuryāt* (misprint ?) read *kuryām*.

p. 134, l. 2.

CN. śataṃ vā sahasraṃ vā gandhaṃ ghrāsyati taṃ na ca parikṣayaṃ gaccheyur

gandhān *MSS.*

T. *des* brgya ḥam | stoṅ *byugs* kyaṅ

Read *gandhān vilepsyati te* (sc. *gandhā*) *na parikṣayaṃ gaccheyur* !

p. 134, l. 11.

Read *yady ekāṃ mātrāṃ* ⟨*parikarmayitum*⟩ *ārabheyam* (T. *gal te mod gaṅ tsam drus pa gaṅ yin pa*) ? Cf. l. 24, *ārabdhevā parikarmayitum* (T. *gaṅ tsam brus* [sic] *na*).

[1] Read bya ba.

p. 135, l. 1.

CN. yo bhavanto 'nenārthī sa āgacchatv iti |

T. su zhig *ci don du* gñer ba deṅ shog shig |

Read *yo bhavanto yenārthī* . . . ?

p. 135, l. 19.

dṛṣṭasatyāḥ seems a necessary correction for *-satyāni*.

XXXI

p. 435, l. 1.

T. omits *namaḥ*. The story is one of a series told by the Buddha to King Prasenajit.

p. 435, l. 7.

CN. śāntakali kalahaḍimbaḍamarataskaradurbhikṣarogāpagatam

T. ḥthab pa daṅ | khrag khrug daṅ | ḥgyed pa daṅ | chom rkun med pa | nad rab tu zhi bar gyur pa | . . .

Read ⟨*pra*⟩*śāntakalikalaha* . . . *taskaraṃ* ? Cf. p. 436, l. 3; p. 437, l. 20.

p. 435, l. 17.

CN. nityaṃ daṇḍena ghātanadhāraṇabandhanahaḍinigaḍoparodhe rāṣṭranivāsināṃ trāsayati |

T. chad pa daṅ | brdeg pa daṅ | ḥtshog pa daṅ | bsod pa daṅ | ḥdzin pa daṅ | ḥchiṅ ba daṅ | su mi ḥdod pa daṅ | khoṅ sgril daṅ | gnod pa sna tshogs kyis yul na gnas paḥi skye bo rnams la rtag tu skrag par byed do |

Read *nityaṃ* ⟨*nānā*⟩*daṇḍa*⟨*tāḍanahana*⟩*naghātanadhāraṇa*... *oparodhai rāṣṭranivāsinaṃ* ⟨*janaṃ*⟩ *trāsayati* |. Likewise in p. 436, l. 6.

p. 435, l. 26.

CN. dattaṃ bhava*tu* |

T. *shes ldan dag* sbyin gyi smros shig |

Read *dattaṃ bhavantaḥ* ⟨*kathayata*⟩ |

p. 436, l. 23.

CN. deva vidyāmantradhāri*ṇas tān ānayeti* | te samanviṣyantām |

ānayati *A*.

T. lha rig sṅags daṅ | gsaṅ sṅags ḥchaṅ dag gis de khugs par ḥgyur gyis | de dag btsal du gsol |

Read *-dhāribhir asāv ānīyeta* | ?

p. 436, l. 25.
For sarvajite T. read *sarvaṃjite* (*yul thams cad du*).

p. 437, l. 7.
CN. balyupahāram *enaṃ* prayacchata
T. *bdag la* gtor ma . . . stsol cig
Read *me* for *enaṃ*.

p. 437, ll. 12, etc.
For *Halaka* T. has *span leb can* (= *Phalaka*).

p. 437, l. 18.
gataḥ | omitted in T.

p. 437, l. 25.
For *pradeśe* T. has *mtsho ḥdi na* (= *hrade*).

p. 438, l. 4.
CN. -āhituṇḍikenapahṛtya nīyeta |
nīyate C.
T. . . . *na* hphrog par byed de |
Read *-āpahṛtya nīye*.

p. 438, l. 13.
CN. yady asau . . . prāṇair *viyokṣyate mṛtaṃ te* 'haṃ yāvajjīvaṃ mantrapāśabaddhaḥ syām iti |
T. . . . srog daṅ bral te shi na ni . . .
Read *prāṇair viyukto mariṣyate 'haṃ* . . . ?

p. 438, l. 21.
CN. tatas *tasmāt* pānīyaṃ kvathitum ārabdhaṃ
T. chu *de* khol du cha ba daṅ | . . .
T. · *tat pānīyaṃ*.

p. 439, l. 17.
CN. sa nāga āha | tavānena kim prayojanaṃ yadā Garutmatopadrutā bhavāmas . . .
T. skye ba sna tshogs kyis smras pa | khyod la ḥdi ci dgos | kho bo cag la ni dgos rab ste | gaṅ gi tshe . . .
Read *Janmacitra āha* | . . . *prayojanam* | ‹*bhṛśam* (?) *asti naḥ prayojanam* | *yadā* . . .

p. 439, l. 20.
CN. yady asti kṛtam upakṛtaṃ cānuprayaccheti |
T. gal te legs pa byas pa daṅ | phan btags pa *dran pa* lta na byin cig |
Read something like *yady asti kṛtopakṛtajñatānuprayaccheti* ?

p. 440, l. 1.
aputram iti kṛtvā omitted in T.
Read *-vidheyaṃ* for *-vidheyo.*

p. 440, l. 7.
Read *balipratigrāhikā* ⟨*devatāḥ*⟩ (T. gtor ma len paḥi lha dag daṅ |). Cf. p. 1, l. 8.

p. 440, l. 22.
CN. sāttamanā svāmina ārocayati
T. de yi dgaḥ zhiṅ yid dgaḥ nas . . .
Read *sāttamanā*⟨*ttamanāḥ*⟩ . . . Cf. p. 2, l. 9.

p. 441, ll. 1 ff.
Omissions in this passage can be supplied from p. 2, ll. 17 ff.

p. 441, l. 4.
Read *-vana*⟨*vi*⟩*cāriṇīṃ* (so T.).

p. 441, l. 5.
v. note on p. 2, l. 23.

p. 441, l. 9.
uccaghoṣaṇaḥ omitted in T.

p. 442, ll. 5 ff.
v. note on p. 58, ll. 24 ff. T. disposes of the passage with *goṅ ma bzhin te* (= *pūrvavat*).

p. 452, l. 20.[1]
CN. *eṣo* 'sau *parvataśaila* ṛṣisaṃ*ghan*iṣevitaḥ |
T. *lam* de *riṅ* daṅ draṅ sroṅ daṅ || *seṅ ge dag* gis rtag bsten ciṅ |
Read *dīrgho 'sau vidyate mārga ṛṣisiṃhaniṣevitaḥ*? This and what follows should have been printed as a śloka.

p. 453, l. 4.
CN. kuto me ratir *anuprāpyatām* iti |
aprāp- *MSS.*
T. *yum de ma rñed par* bdag dgaḥ bar ga la ḥgyur |
Read ⟨*amba*⟩ *kuto me ratir aprāptāyā*⟨*ṃ tasyā*⟩*m iti.*

p. 453, l. 5.
-saṃtāpa- omitted in T.

p. 453, l. 9.
CN. *amuṣmin pradeśe.* T. *ri bo che ge moḥi ṅos la.*
T. = *amuṣmin parvatapārśve.*

[1] I have not consulted the Tibetan text for p. 442, l. 10 – p. 452, l. 20. The ten folios which comprise it are missing from the Commonwealth Relations Office copy of the Ḥdul ba.

p. 453, l. 17.
Read *nagara⟨dvāra⟩prākāra* (T. *groṅ khyer gyi sgo daṅ* . . .).

p. 453, l. 19.
CN. uktaṃ ca | pañcame rātryā alpaṃ svapanti bahu jāgarti | katame pañca puruṣāḥ | striyām avekṣyavān pratibaddhacittaḥ strīpuruṣa *utkrośa*[1] *ṛṇī* caurasenāpatir bhikṣuś cālabdhavīrya iti |

T. lha po ḥdi dag mtshan mo cuṅ zad ñal gyi | phal cher mi ñal te | lha gaṅ zhe na | skyes pa bud med la chags pa sems bciṅs pa daṅ | bud med skyes pa la chags pa daṅ | srog chags ṅur pa daṅ | chom rkun paḥi ra go daṅ | dge sloṅ brtson ḥgrus brtsams pa yin no zhes gsuṅs so |

Read *pañcame* . . . *jāgrati* | *katame pañca* | *puruṣaḥ striyām* . . . -*cittah*, *strī puruṣe*, *cakravākaḥ prāṇī* (?), . . . *cārabdha*-

The only doubtful item is the third. Possibly CN.'s suggestion " watchman " is correct and the original reading was *utkrośakārī* or something similar.

p. 453, l. 23.
CN. yadi dvāreṇa yāsyāmi rājā dvārapālakān rakṣakāṃś ca daṇḍenotsādayiṣyati |

T. gal te bdag sgo nas soṅ na [1] | rgyal poḥi sgo sruṅs kyi sruṅ ma gtum po dag yod de | de rnams kyis bdag chad pa gcod pa ḥam | srog daṅ bral bar byed par ḥgyur gyis |
nas *Xyl.*

T. represents something like . . . *rājño dvārapālakarakṣakāś caṇḍā bhavanti te māṃ daṇḍayiṣyanty utsādayiṣyanti vā.*

p. 454, l. 1.
CN. kaccit priyā mama manohara*naikadak*ṣā dṛṣṭā tvayā . . .

T. ci ga bdag gi sdug pa ut pal lta buḥi mig | . . .
Read *manohara notpalākṣā* (" Have you not seen, O charming one, . . .) ? T. has no equivalent for *manohara*.

p. 454, l. 12.
CN. nīlāñjanācalasuvarṇa madhudvirepha

T. ri bo mthon tiṅ *lta buḥi* mchog . . .
Read -*savarṇa*.

p. 454, l. 14.
CN. varṇādhimātrasadṛśāyatakeśahastā

[1] utkoṣa *A.*

T. skra yi tshogs riṅ kha dog buṅ ba ltar nag pa |
T. = "black as a bee in colour". Possibly *-varṇālipattra-*.

p. 454, l. 17.
CN. tanupallavalolajihva
T. *shiṅ* lo lta bur
T. = *taru-*.

p. 454, l. 21.
Read *dadarśāparaṃ* ⟨*vanaṃ*⟩ (T. *tshal gzhan zhig na*).

p. 454, l. 23.
CN. vanā*ntara*vṛkṣavāsin
T. tshal *mchog* ljon shiṅ la gnas pa
Read *vanottama* . . .

p. 454, l. 27.
Read *sarva*⟨*puṣpa*⟩*pariphullam* | (T. *me tog thams cad rgyas pa*).

p. 454, l. 29.
CN. sarvadrumāṇām adhirāja*tulya*
T. ljon pa rnams kyi rgyal po cher *gyur pa*
Read *adhirājabhūta*.

p. 454, l. 30.
CN. manoharāśoka vimūrchitaṃ mām
T. yid ḥphrog mya ṅan gyis ni bloṅ ba bdag |
T. = *manoharā-śoka-vimūrchitaṃ*. The equivoque is no doubt deliberate.

p. 455, l. 8.
Read *purahsaraṃ*.

p. 455, l. 16.
CN. *yātāṃ ramāṃ* drakṣyasi niścayeneti |
T. gshegs par gyur na ṅes par bdag mthoṅ ṅo |
Read *yātāṃ ca māṃ* or *yātvā ca māṃ*.

p. 455, l. 18.
kumāra omitted in T.

p. 455, l. 26.
For *mantram adhyetavyaṃ* (MSS. *adhyetavyāḥ*) T. has *gsaṅ sṅags dag* (plural) *bslab par bya*.

p. 455, l. 28.
T. omits *Kūlako*.

p. 455, l. 30.
T. omits *parvatāḥ* | *sarve*, and *sarve* in p. 456, l. 2.

p. 456, l. 1.

CN. Ekadhārake tu *kīlakā*

T. rgyud gcig pa dan | phur paḥi dbyibs la yan phug nas ḥjug |
Read *Ekadhāraka Utkīlake* ⟨*cāpi guhā praveśo*⟩ ! Cf. p. 450, l. 12.

p. 456, l. 3.

CN. ajavaktro mendhakaḥ puruṣo rākṣasirūpī piṅgalāyāṃ guhāyāṃ lālāśrotasā mahatājagaro vegena pradhāvati | sa te vikramena hantavyaḥ | arāntaragatāṃ nābhīṃ yatra paśyet tatra kiṭibhakaś ca |
nābhī *MSS.*

T. ra gdoṅ can dan | lug lta bu dan | skyes bu srin po ser skyaḥi gzugs can dag gzhom par byaḥo || phug na sbrul kha chuḥi rgyun chen poḥi shugs kyis rgyug pa zhig mchis te | de ni zho shas gzhom par byaḥo || gaṅ na sbrul ni nag po zhig | phug na phyed ḥdug mthoṅ nas ni || . . .

The corruptions here and in p. 450, ll. 14 ff., are hardly to be removed even with the aid of the Tibetan version, which implies a text something like the following :—

ajavaktro meṇḍhakaḥ puruṣaḥ piṅgalarākṣasarūpī hantavyaḥ | *guhāyām . . . hantavyaḥ* |
arāntaragataṃ nīlaṃ yatra paśyet bhujaṃgamam |

p. 456, l. 7-p. 457, l. 1.

The entire passage down to *samuttāraḥ* is verified in the Tibetan. Our text is evidently a Sanskritization of a Prākrit original, and while the sense is clear the wording must in many cases remain doubtful.

p. 457, l. 1.

CN. nadīṃ atikramya pañca yakṣaśatāni gulmakasthā*nam* |

T. chu bo *rnams* rgal nas gcan paḥi gnas *na* . . .
Read *nadīṃ samatikramya* (so p. 451, l. 11) . . . *-sthāne* |

p. 457, l. 5.

CN. samudānīya

T. btsal baḥi phyir.
Read *samudānayanāya* (so *BC*, samudānaya *A*).

p. 457, l. 8.

alam . . . avāpsyasi (l. 9) versified in T.

p. 457, l. 17.

CN. vīryaṃ bhajet sumahadūrjitasattvadṛṣṭaṃ

T. sems can spuṅs can gyis *bstan* brtson ḥgrus cher brtsams te |
Read *sumahad ūrjitasattvadiṣṭam* ?

p. 457, l. 23.
CN. taḍāgadīrghikāvāpīkinnara*iḥ* samupāvṛtam
T. rdziṅ bu daṅ | mtsheḥu daṅ | riṅ po daṅ | gru bzhi daṅ | mi ḥam ci *mo* rnams kyis bskor ba
T. = *vāpītaḍāgadīrghikā⟨caturasra⟩kinnarīsamupāvṛtam.*

p. 458, l. 16.
CN. prabhūta*c*ittopakaraṇ*aiḥ* kinnarīsahasraparivṛtām
" *Qu* : -citro- ? " *CN.*
T. *nor* daṅ yo byad maṅ po daṅ | mi ḥam ci mo stoṅ gis yoṅs su bskor te |
Read *-vittopakaraṇakinnarī-*.

p. 458, l. 23.
CN. sauvarṇās stambhā ucchritās
T. gser gyi sdoṅ po bdun . . .
Read ⟨*sapta*⟩ *s. s.* or ⟨*sapta*⟩ *sauvarṇastambhā.*

p. 458, l. 24.
āha ca . . . *Manoharā* (l. 30) omitted in T.

p. 459, l. 4.
daivatyopasaṃhatena omitted in T.

p. 459, l. 7.
The two ślokas are omitted in T.

p. 459, l. 20.
Read *pratyabhijñā⟨panā⟩ya* ? (T. *de ṅo shes bya baḥi phyir*).

p. 459, l. 21.
CN. yathā Drumasya duhitā *mameha tvaṃ* Manoharā
tvaṃ mameha *MSS.*
T. ji ltar khyod ni ljon paḥi bu yin la || kho boḥi *sdug pa* yid ḥphrog yin zhes na |
Read *tvaṃ mameṣṭā.*

p. 460, l. 9.
CN. gaccha kumāreṇa sārdham *apakrāntayā* te bhavitavyam
T. . . . bag yod par gyis shig
Read *apramādayā.*

p. 460, l. 14.
nagaraṃ . . . *tan* (l. 16) omitted in T.

p. 460, l. 17.
Read *-kalāpaṃ samucchrita* . . . ?

XXXI

p. 461, l. 10.

Read *āyuṣmantam* ⟨*Ānandam*⟩ (so T.).

p. 463, l. 2.

Read *tathaiva* ⟨*saṃvṛttam* |⟩ ? (T. *de bzhin du gyur nas*).

p. 463, l. 5.

T. *khyod kyi ci dpags pa* supports CN.'s conjecture *yat te 'bhipretaṃ*.

p. 464, l. 5.

For *svarbhavanaṃ* T. had *svabhavanaṃ* (*raṅ gi gnas su*).

p. 467, l. 3.

Read *saṃjan*⟨*an*⟩*ārthaṃ*.

p. 467, l. 28.

Read ⟨*cetasā*⟩ *cittam ājñāya* (T. *bsam pa thugs su chud pa*).

The following Table again shows the correspondence between (*a*) the pages of Cowell and Neil's edition and (*b*) the folios of one or other edition of the Ḥdul ba, so far as I have traced it.

III.	p. 55, l. 17	Nar-thang,	Vol. *Kha*	.	.	fol.	100 b2
	p. 56, l. 1	,,	,,	.	.	,,	100 b6
	p. 57, l. 2	,,	,,	.	.	,,	101 b6
	p. 58, l. 1	,,	,,	.	.	,,	102 b6
	p. 59, l. 1	,,	,,	.	.	,,	103 b1
	p. 60, l. 1	,,	,,	.	.	,,	104 b1
	p. 61, l. 1	,,	,,	.	.	,,	105 b1
	p. 62, l. 1	,,	,,	.	.	,,	106 b3
	p. 63, l. 1	,,	,,	.	.	,,	107 b4
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	p. 70, l. 1	,,	,,	.	.	,,	207 a1
	p. 71, l. 1	,,	,,	.	.	,,	207 b5
	p. 72, l. 1	,,	,,	.	.	,,	208 b3
V.	p. 72, l. 7	,,	,,	.	.	,,	231 b5
	p. 73, l. 1	,,	,,	.	.	,,	232 a4
	p. 74, l. 1	,,	,,	.	.	,,	232 b7
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	p. 75, l. 1	,,	,,	.	.	,,	233 b4
	p. 76, l. 1	,,	,,	.	.	,,	234 b6
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	p. 77, l. 1	,,	,,	.	.	,,	309 b5
	p. 78, l. 1	,,	,,	.	.	,,	310 b7
	p. 79, l. 1	,,	,,	.	.	,,	312 a2
	p. 80, l. 1	,,	,,	.	.	,,	313 a7

VII.	p. 80, l. 11	Nar-thang, Vol. *Kha* . .	fol. 313 b4
	p. 81, l. 1	,, ,, . .	,, 314 a4
	p. 82, l. 1	,, ,, . .	,, 314 b7
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	p. 87, l. 1	,, ,, . .	,, 320 a1
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	p. 89, l. 1	,, ,, . .	,, 322 a1
	p. 90, l. 1	,, ,, . .	,, 323 a3
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IX.	p. 123, l. 16	Nar-thang, Vol. *Ga* . .	,, 42 a7
	p. 124, l. 1	,, ,, . .	,, 42 b3
	p. 125, l. 1	,, ,, . .	,, 43 a1
	p. 126, l. 1	,, ,, . .	,, 43 a7
	p. 127, l. 1	,, ,, . .	,, 43 b6
	p. 128, l. 1	,, ,, . .	,, 44 b7
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X.	p. 131, l. 1	,, ,, . .	,, 49 b1
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XVII.	p. 210, l. 13	Nar-thang, Vol. *Kha* . .	,, 327 a1
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	p. 212, l. 1	,, ,, . .	,, 329 a3
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	p. 218, l. 1	,, ,, . .	,, 336 b6
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	p. 220, l. 1	,, ,, . .	,, 338 b6
	p. 221, l. 1	,, ,, . .	,, 339 b6
	p. 222, l. 1	,, ,, . .	,, 341 a6
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	p. 224, l. 1	,, ,, . .	,, 343 b4
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XXIII.	p. 337, l. 1	Derge, Vol. *Ka* . . .	fol. 106 b5
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XXV.	p. 346, l. 18	„ „ . . .	„ 116 a2
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XXX.	p. 435, l. 1	Nar-thang, Vol. *Kha* . .	„ 382 a5
	p. 436, l. 1	„ „ . .	„ 383 b1
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	p. 459, l. 1	„ „ . .	„ 406 a6
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A Forgotten Persian Poet of the Thirteenth Century

By D. S. ROBERTSON

I RECENTLY purchased a Persian manuscript, dated A.H. 981 (= A.D. 1573), containing the *Dīvān* of a poet named Ḍiyā-yi Fārsī. The manuscript, which is in good condition, contains 149 folios, each of fifteen lines, amounting in all to about 4,400 couplets: my knowledge of its contents is due to the kindness of Professor R. Levy and Professor V. Minorsky, who have both examined its text.

This poet is not mentioned in E. G. Browne's *Literary History of Persia* nor in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, and I cannot trace any example of his *Dīvān* in any catalogue of Persian manuscripts accessible to me. There may well be copies hidden in Persian or Indian libraries, but his work is unknown to all the experts whom I have consulted. Dr. Levy has found in Wladimir Ivanow's *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1924, the account of an anthology of early Persian poets (*Majmū'a-i-ash'ār*), which includes (p. 438) one page (f. 23v) from Ḍiyā u'd Dīn Fārsī, probably the same man. I have also myself found a reference to Ḍiyā-yi Fārsī (quoting two passages, of about ninety couplets in all, both of which are present in my manuscript) in the *Muntakhabu't Tawārīkh* of the late sixteenth-century writer Badā'ūnī, who, however, dates him two centuries too early, to about A.D. 1036 (Calcutta Edition, vol. i, 1868, p. 23 = G. S. A. Rankin's translation, vol. i, Calcutta, 1898, p. 38).

It appears from the investigations of Dr. Levy and Professor Minorsky, that the poet Ḍiyā was a native of Fārs, but established at Khujand, on the Upper Jaxartes. Several of the odes bear dates ranging from A.H. 600 (= A.D. 1204) to A.H. 638 (= A.D. 1240), the period just preceding and following the invasion of Transoxiana by the Tatars under Chingīz Khān, to which there is at least one reference in the *Dīvān*. There are many references by name and title to the poet's patrons, some of whom seem to be otherwise unknown, and the odes, when fully investigated, may throw useful light on an obscure period.

I have had the whole manuscript photographed and have presented one complete set of prints to the London School of Oriental and African Studies, and another, with the negatives, to the University Library, Cambridge, so that the *Dīvān* is now available for general study.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near & Middle East

1. SAADIA GAON: THE BOOK OF BELIEFS AND OPINIONS. Translated from the Arabic by SAMUEL ROSENBLATT. Yale Judaica Series, Volume I. Yale University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege). New Haven, Connecticut, 1948. pp. xxi, 496. 27s. 6d. net.
2. THE CODE OF MAIMONIDES, BOOK THIRTEEN: The Book of Civil Laws. Translated from the Hebrew by JACOB J. RABINOWITZ. Yale University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege). New Haven, Connecticut, 1949. pp. xxiv, 345. 27s. 6d. net.
3. THE CODE OF MAIMONIDES, BOOK FOURTEEN: The Book of Judges. Translated from the Hebrew by A. M. HERSHMAN. Yale University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege). New Haven, Connecticut, 1949. pp. xxv, 335. 40s. net.

A new series, the Yale Judaica, is inaugurated with these three works. Under the competent editorship of Julian Obermann, Louis Ginzberg, and Harry A. Wolfson, it aims at providing "translations of ancient and mediaeval Jewish classics, whether the original be Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Ethiopic, or Arabic". To make accessible in English outstanding Rabbinic works is an aim that will be welcomed by all Old Testament scholars. Too little is known of the early Jewish writers and commentators and, it must be said, too little importance has hitherto been attached to their labours by Christian scholars. The era of the domination of Old Testament interpretation by German theories is passing and the value of the Jewish attitude to, and understanding of, their scriptures must needs be reassessed.

Volume I is a translation of the Al-'Amānāt wa'l-I'tiqādāt of Saadia. It is appropriate that the series should be initiated with a work of the famous Gaon, the millenary of whose death was commemorated a few years ago. His great philosophical book in which the basic ideas of Judaism are systematically expounded, is not an easy one to follow. Dr. Rosenblatt has successfully combined the tasks of translator and interpreter in Targumic fashion, forsaking at times literalness in favour of intelligibility, much to the advantage of the reader. The result is a readable and comprehensible whole.

A welcome feature of the series is the inclusion of a translation of the Mishneh Torah of Maimonides, the famous law code which he thought, but thought wrongly, would supersede all other codes. All its fourteen books are to be included, and will be translated in due course. Two of these, Books Thirteen and Fourteen, form Volumes II and III of the series. This is the first time a translation of the entire work has been attempted, and it will be readily admitted that in the two volumes before us a propitious beginning has been made. In view of the great variety of subjects covered by the Mishneh Torah the Board of Editors has exercised a wise discretion in the choice of translators. Thus, J. J. Rabinowitz, a member of the New York Bar, has been entrusted with the rendering of Book Thirteen, the Book of Civil Laws, into legalistic English, whilst Dr. Hershman does the same for Book Fourteen, the Book of Judges. Both translators have performed their task well, each in his own way. Hebrew intricacies are minimized. Hebrew technical terms which have no equivalent in English are rightly left untranslated and explained in a Glossary.

While scholars would welcome more elaborate notes and documentation than is allowed for in the scheme of treatment governing the series, the volumes lay a solid foundation for a more exhaustive treatment in the future.

EDWARD ROBERTSON.

ABÛ YA'QÛB SEJESTÂNÎ: Kashf al-maḥjûb. Texte persan publié avec une introduction par HENRY CORBIN. (Bibliothèque Iranienne. Série A: Textes. Vol. 1.) $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7$, pp. 25, 115, 4. Teheran: Institut Franco-Iranien. Paris: Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1949.

FOUR EMINENT POETESSES OF IRAN: with a brief survey of Iranian and Indian poetesses of Neo-Persian. By M. ISHAQUE. (Ishaque Publication Fund Series—1.) $10 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. viii, 100, 1 ill. Calcutta: Iran Society, 1950.

It is a pleasure to welcome these volumes, each the first in a new series of publications, each compiled by a well-known scholar, each an important contribution to scholarship.

Familiarity with the excellent productions of French Institutes in many centres of the East raises the expectation that the same standard will be maintained, wherever fresh work is done; and the newly established Franco-Iranian Institute in Teheran is off to a most admirable and characteristic start. The text edited by Henry

Gushâyish extends our growing knowledge of the but recently obscure literature of Ismailism, gives us a specimen of philosophical writing in the older period of Neo-Persian prose, and informs us that much more is to come. The text is edited with scholarly accuracy from a unique manuscript: it is a translation, or rather a paraphrase, of a lost Arabic original. The ideas are fantastic enough, and offer a wide field of research into the sources of Ismaili speculation.

Mohammed Ishaque is famous for his studies of modern Persian poetry. In the volume under review he goes back into the past as well, to draw a picture of the poetry written in Persian by women, with four close-ups, two from the classical period and two from modern times. The volume incorporates much new information, the product of industrious and accurate scholarship, and makes very attractive reading.

A. J. Arberry.

The Ascension of the Apostle and the Heavenly Book. By Geo. Widengren. pp. 117. Uppsala: A. Lundequistska Bokhandeln. 1950.

This book is the expansion of two lectures on the prophet Muhammad, delivered to the University of Copenhagen in 1948, and is an endeavour to trace the background of Muhammad's journey to the celestial spheres. Professor Widengren seeks his earliest example in Accadian texts, finding it in the summons of Enmeduranki, king of Sippar, to the assembly of the gods and his endowment with the tablets of destiny: "the tablets of the gods, the bag with the mystery of heaven (and earth)."

He then passes on to the Israelitic account of the visit of Moses to the summit of Sinai to receive the tablets of the law, and to Ezekiel, who on a visionary visit to heaven received command to prophesy in the form of a scroll taken from the Divine hand. Professor Widengren pursues his quest through Samaritan, Rabbinic, Mandaic, and Hermetic-Gnostic literature, finding a number of passages to illustrate the recurrent motive. Had he cared to trace it into post-Moslem times, he would have found a late parallel in the Indian story of Baba Nanak, fifteenth-century founder of the Sikh religion, who is said to have visited heaven in a trance, talked with the Almighty, and received then from His hand an elixir that endowed him with "the perfection of divine knowledge". The Malay, Cham, and Mongolian shaman has claimed the power of visiting heaven and

obtaining knowledge. It is a pity that Professor Widengren allowed small but irritating mistakes in English to creep into an otherwise competent book.

E. S. Drower.

Liber Peregrinationis di Jacopo da Verona, a cura di Ugo Monneret de Villard. $11\frac{1}{4} \times 9$, pp. i–xxxi + 240. La Libreria dello Stato, Roma. 1950. L. 4,000.

This sumptuous volume is the first of a series of Italian travel-books to be published under the title of *Il Nuovo Ramusio* by the Italian Institute for the Middle and Extreme East, in conjunction with the State Library. The quality of this Italian "Hakluyt" series is ensured with Professor G. Tucci as its general editor. The Latin text of this first volume, which describes the travels of an Augustinian Friar in Palestine, Sinai, Egypt, and Syria, in the fourteenth century, is based on a Codex in the library of Thomas Phillipps, of Cheltenham, and on two fifteenth-century MSS. at Munich. The editor has provided two indices and 65 pages of valuable notes citing the latest comparative literature on the countries and places visited by Jacopo. Among other topics, the friar dilates in the fashion of his age on Muhammadanism, declaring that the Prophet forbade wine, because it is drunk in the Christian sacrament, and pork because a pig once soiled his garments. The most valuable part of the book deals with the Holy Land.

Il Nuovo Ramusio will be warmly welcomed by all interested in travels and the relations of East and West.

Diwan Abatur, or Progress through the Purgatories. By E. S. Drower. Text with translation, notes, and appendices [Studi e Testi 151], Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MCML, viii and 46 pages and a photographic reproduction of the roll.

Šarḥ d Qabin d Šišlam Rba (d.c. 38), Explanatory Commentary on the Marriage-ceremony of the Great Šišlam. Text transliterated and translated [Biblica et Orientalia—N. 12 (Sacra Scriptura antiquitatibus Orientalibus illustrata)], Roma, Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1950, 112 pages.

The Mandaic roll, called *The Diwan of Abatur*, preserved in the Vatican Library and brought to Rome by Father Ignatius, has been

made public in a photographic reproduction by Dr. B. Poertner—not Pfister, as Lady Drower writes—but had never been translated, although its contents are rather interesting for the student of Mandaic religion. Lady Drower, whose researches into the life and manners, the literature, and the religious rites of the Mandaeans are well known to all orientalists, has got from Mandaean friends in 'Irâq a copy of the complete roll, including the first section, which is wanting in the Vatican copy. In her book, published by the Vatican Library, she gives us, after a short preface, a careful translation of the Mandaic text and valuable notes about the discrepancies between the texts of the Vatican roll and of her own manuscript. In the first of two appendices Lady Drower explains the names and functions of some of the celestial and underworld beings mentioned in the text, and in the second she publishes a note on the Edomites or Idumaeans, called by the Mandaeans, according to her, Dumaiia.

The chief part of the *Diwan Abatur* is, no doubt, constituted by the many pictures and illustrations it contains of celestial beings and objects, and things connected with the religion of the Mandaeans. In fact the text is in the main an explanation of those images, which betray a rather primitive style that reminds Lady Drower of cubism. Here and there are interspersed accounts of a mythic character and long descriptions of the *matarata*, places of detention or purgatories of the Mandaeans. In these parts of the text the author has inserted some doublets taken from other writings and manuscripts.

The reproduction of the whole roll, together with the many illustrations, is very well executed, and the reading of the Mandaean text everywhere clear. But Lady Drower would have obliged all the students of Mandaean religion and all orientalists if she had given us also a transliteration of the text.

With a transliteration according to her own system for Mandaic, the editor has provided an edition of the second text, whose first part concerns the ceremony of marriage among Mandaeans. For her edition Lady Drower has used two manuscripts, D.C. 38, brought by her from 'Irâq and now in her possession, and for the first part a manuscript in the collection of the late Père Anastase Marie de St. Élie of Baghdâd. Lady Drower's MS. contains five parts, the last only a repetition of the first. The second and third parts contain hymns, prayers, and songs to be recited during the marriage ceremony, although some of them have no, or very few, references to

the wedding. In fact, the fourth part is an enumeration of the lucky and unlucky hours of the days of every week, and only four references are to be found to bride and bridegroom. Some copyist may have thought it fit for insertion in the description of a wedding, as no Mandaean bridegroom is allowed to approach his bride for the first time at an unpropitious moment, p. 4. This list of lucky and unlucky days is different from those contained in Lady Drower's *Book of the Zodiac*.

Some of the hymns and songs are difficult to be understood, as the text contains terms of a mystic character, the exact meanings of which are still unknown. The editor has tried to give us everywhere a plausible interpretation of the text, and in her notes calls attention to the conjectural translation of many passages.

We are deeply indebted to Lady Drower for the fine edition of Mandaic ritual texts given in these two books, and hope that she will edit other texts from her many precious manuscripts in the Mandaic language. But could she not modify some features of her transliteration of Mandaic words? Her method is not always consistent and pays too much regard to the pronunciation of some of the words, whereas a quasi-diplomatic reproduction of the words with the letters of the Latin alphabet would be preferable, a method which I have adopted recently in my researches on some aspects of the doctrine and religion of the south-Mesopotamian sect.

Giuseppe Furlani.

Far East

Malay Proverbs. Chosen and introduced by Sir Richard Winstedt. 7 × 5, pp. vii + 85. Wisdom of the East Series. John Murray, 1950. 4*s.* 6*d.*

In times like the present, when the pithy use of simple colloquial Malay tends to be veiled by the spread of an ugly and prolix journalese, the study of expression by proverbial idiom deserves as much stimulus as can be given to it.

This book contains a selection of proverbs familiar to the Malays of the Peninsula, with a valuable introduction in which are traced analogies between Malay sayings and those of other Eastern races that have an ancient culture. Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, even paganism have all shared in the creation and diffusion of a currency

which has enriched the common talk of the Malays of to-day, and by terseness and aptness in quotation has made easier the expression of complex ideas in the conversation of simple villagers. The introduction also traces sayings borrowed from the Portuguese, and illustrates the difference between the proverbs of the coastal Malays and those of inland Menangkabaus.

To the library of the student of the Orient and comparative cultures, the work is a valuable addition. It will also be of use to all who may mix with the humble villagers and want to learn the process of his thoughts through the utterance of what might appear to the uninitiated to be irrelevant or meaningless.

J. E. KEMPE.

DIE LIEDER DES LI YÜ (A.D. 937–978). By VON ALFRED HOFFMANN. pp. xii + 275. Graven Verlag. Cologne.

The forty-five songs, by a tenth-century Chinese emperor, which Herr Hoffmann here studies, are given with text, literal translation, and analysis of content. The translations are, as Herr Hoffmann confesses, not intended to give an idea of the literary value of the originals, but are merely "cribs". They will, as such, be of great use to students of Chinese. The author has received help from several famous Chinese authorities on literature, such as Hu Shih and Sun K'ai-ti. The book is beautifully illustrated and produced.

A. WALEY.

FONTI RICCIANE. DOCUMENTI ORIGINALI CONCERNENTI MATTEO RICCI E LA STORIA DELLE PRIME RELAZIONI TRA L'EUROPA E LA CINA (1579–1615). Editi e commentati da PASQUALE M. D'ELIA, S.J. Vol. I, clxxxvii + 386 pp.; Vol. II, xxxv + 652 pp.; Vol. III (Appendices and Indices), xi + 372 pp. La Libreria dello Stato, Rome, 1942–9. The first two volumes are profusely illustrated.

The author's position of Professor of Chinese at the Papal University in Rome is sufficient guarantee of his sinological ability, while the free use of Chinese characters throughout the text and notes is of great assistance in the ready identification of Chinese names. Yet one wonders, in the light of C. S. Ch'ien's strictures on previous

works by Jesuits in this field (*Philobiblon*, Nanking, vol. i, 1946, pp. 13–19); and Professor J. J. L. Duyvendak's remarks in *T'oung Pao*, vol. xxxviii (1948), pp. 383–6, whether all the available Chinese sources have been utilised as thoroughly as have the Western, and particularly the rich archive of the Jesuits at Rome; but this only a Chinese scholar can decide.

Meanwhile, Father Pasquale M. D'Elia has provided all those interested in the early cultural contacts between Europe and the Far East with a wealth of new material. Apart from throwing a great deal of light on Ricci's manifold activities in Kwangtung, Nanking, and Peking, the book contains valuable information on many related items, such as the early printing of the Jesuits in China and Japan, their attitude to the admission of Japanese and Chinese to the Society of Jesus, and the history of Macao at this period. Among the numerous illustrations, particular attention may be drawn to Ruggieri's Chinese catachism printed in 1584 (I, plates x and xi); the formal vows of one of the first two Chinese to become priests in the Society of Jesus (I, plate xiv), and the reproductions of Ricci's maps (II, plates ii, viii, and ix). The portrait of Alexander Valignano (1539–1606) (plate iv, vol. i), like the portrait of Hsü Kuang-ch'i (徐光啟) (plate xvi, vol. ii) is a modern reconstruction.

Italian sinology in general, and Father Pasquale M. D'Elia in particular, are to be heartily congratulated on this scholarly, sumptuous, and monumental production.

C. R. Boxer.

Tibetan Folksongs from the District of Gyantse. Collected and translated by Giuseppe Tucci. pp. 89. Ascona (Switzerland), 1949.

In virtue of date of publication this interesting study of Tibetan folk-literature might be regarded as a side-dish in the great feast provided by Professor Tucci's *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. But it originated, no doubt, in connection rather with explorations which gave birth to the three "parts" of *Gyantse ed i suoi monasteri* (Volume IV of *Indo-Tibetica*, 1941). It completes the study of the history and religious art of the district by a glimpse of its social psychology and life.

Folk-song seems to characterize some provinces of India more than

others. On the Tibetan frontier, in the Simla hills, the Kunâwarî language can be studied in a fair collection of prosaic ditties mostly concerned with local incidents or persons. Tibetans seem to have been inspired by their wonderful country with a touch of poetic feeling, which appears, however, chiefly by way of terse allusions: allusiveness, even in references to matters of religion, a pervading interest in Tibetan life, is a feature of their songs, and along with frequent linguistic obscurities puts the interpretation often beyond the unaided competence of ordinary European Tibetanists. Professor Tucci, in addition to his familiarity with the spoken dialects, has availed himself of consultation with Tibetan friends.

The book furnishes a bibliography, an introductory discussion of the style, metre, and classification of the songs, several of them work-chanteys and most of them connected with occasions, and often including meaningless refrains. The last item is a long and elaborately poetical marriage ritual. The notes also are indispensable for comprehension of phrases and items of usage, dress, utensils, and architecture. There is an index of proper names and of words.

In the translation, p. 67, "lower" and "upper" should be transposed; and on p. 63, v. 48, perhaps "she is filled with the light of Jambudvīpa" should be "Jambudvīpa [sc. the earth] is filled with [her] light".

F. W. Thomas.

The Western Pioneers and Their Discovery of Macao. By J. M. Braga. [Reprinted from the *Boletim do Instituto Português de Hongkong*, vol. ii.] pp. 248. Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1949.

The chief merit of this work lies in the extracts from old Chinese works given on pp. 72–90, 104–118, 166–174, and compared with citations from obscure and neglected Portuguese records. Mr. Braga has adduced new facts and made interesting suggestions from his collation of these sources, although the exact details of the origin of Macao still elude the investigator. Perhaps the full account of the founding of the Portuguese settlement will never be unearthed, as both the local Chinese officials and the Portuguese merchant-adventurers concerned had good reasons for not keeping their superiors fully informed. But Mr. Braga's comparative method is

undoubtedly the right one; and it is to be hoped that he will continue his researches. His extracts from South China district topographies and local histories disclose a number of hitherto unsuspected references to Portuguese activities in this region during the first half of the sixteenth century. The Portuguese archives, particularly those at Goa, hitherto not used in this connection, might yield further information. The book is well indexed, and chapter and verse for all assertions made in the text are given in footnotes. In any future edition, the first fifty-nine pages could be drastically cut or rewritten, since they are largely "padding". They also contain traditional assertions about Portuguese decadence being mainly due to the Spanish codominion of 1580–1640, and so forth, that are no longer accepted as valid by most modern historians. As regards Macao itself, the Roman Catholic missionaries owed a great deal to this "Rome in China", but their connection with the Portuguese colony was often a source of great embarrassment to them; a connection they strove to minimize or conceal as far as possible in their dealings with the suspicious authorities at Peking (cf. d'Elia's *Fonti Ricciane*, ii, p. 363 (*note*) and the sources there quoted).

C. R. Boxer.

Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu. By L. Petech. Serie Orientale Roma, II. 89 pp. 1950.

The first two chapters of the sixth-century work *Shui-ching-chu* contain an account of the Western Regions which quotes from at least seven lost works, most of them dating from the fourth and fifth centuries. Dr. Petech here translates and annotates the section dealing with Northern India. He concludes with an appendix on the name Chi-pin. Among his unsolved puzzles is the river called 蜺 羅 跂 禘. It may be suggested that this is almost certainly Airāvatī (跂 being a mistake for 跋), not meaning a specific river (such as the Rapti), but the fourth of the seven mythological rivers that dry up at the end of a *kalpa*.

Dr. Petech has carried out a difficult task with admirable care and lucidity.

A. Waley.

Food and Money in Ancient China. Translated and annotated by Nancy Lee Swann. pp. xiii + 482. Princeton University Press. 1950.

The main part of this book consists of a translation of the chapter on Food and Money in the *Han Shu*, with abundant commentary and explanatory essays. To this are added translations of related texts in the *Han Shu* and *Shih Chi*. The texts are reproduced in the original at the end of the volume. The text of the *Han Shu*, as it exists to-day, is by no means satisfactory, and there are many points at which alternative interpretations are possible. But the translation is, on the whole, excellent. The English is occasionally rather odd. Why should (p. xii) the Imperial Equipage be called " His Majesty's personal cart " ?

A. Waley.

Topics in Chinese Literature. Outlines and Bibliographies. By James Hightower. Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, Vol. 3. pp. ix + 130. Harvard University Press. 1950.

As the author explains, the " topics " here outlined " are for the most part literary styles or genres. Thus, there are sections on the main forms of poetry, fiction, and drama. The survey is carried down to the present day. The bibliographies are skilfully selected and the whole work is a model for what a student's handbook should be.

A. Waley.

India and Pakistan

Selections from the Nagpur Residency Records. Vol. I (1799–1806). 10" × 6¼". pp. 565 + xx. Nagpur Government Press. Rs. 12 (or 18 sh.).

The beginning of a series of extracts from the Records of the Government of Madhya Pradesh, formerly known as the Central Provinces, deserves a special welcome. It is on the lines of the Poona Records published by the old Government of Bombay, but, as is pointed out in the foreword, the Madhya Pradesh Government is ahead of many other States and Provinces and is to be congratulated on its enterprise. The period covered by this volume is one of great historical interest. The Court of the Bhonsle Rajas at Nagpur, if it

proved to be of less importance and permanence than the adjoining Courts of the Nizam, Sindia and Holkar, was regarded at the time as holding a key position, especially among the Maratha States. It was fortunate in having among the earliest Residents so distinguished an official as Mountstuart Elphinstone, whose letters are worthy of his reputation. The local interest of events occurring in the Nagpur territories is supplemented by letters between the Government of India and the Residents at other Courts, of which copies were sent to the Resident at Nagpur. Many of the Records are being published just in time before they became indecipherable.

In his modest introduction, the editor, Dr. H. N. Sinha, states that the pressure of his other duties, and the condition of the Records, which necessitated early publication, have prevented him from furnishing the notes which might, he thinks, have been expected. He also apologizes for the printing errors in this first volume. It must be admitted that these are pretty numerous, and that often the original has obviously been incorrectly transcribed, while the rendering of proper names is sometimes not only incorrect but inconsistent. This has doubtless been due in some cases to the condition of the manuscripts. These are, however, small blemishes in comparison with the achievement of getting the first volume of a series published with promptitude.

Dr. Sinha is also to be congratulated on the absence of bias in his short explanatory headings to the letters. He does not seek to gloss over the corruption and inefficiency of the administration at the Courts of the States of the period.

It may be hoped that the series will be completed in the contemplated period of seven years, and that it will excite other Indian State Governments to follow the lead of Bombay and Nagpur.

P. R. CADELL.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE DECCAN. An Epigraphical Survey (c. 300 B.C.–A.D. 1300). By A. V. NAIK. pp. 160 + 2 maps. Reprinted from the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona. Wesley Press, Mysore. n.d.

This work, part of a thesis on Archæology of the Deccan, accepted by the University of Bombay in 1947, contains a full list of the inscriptions of the Cālukyas of Bādāmi (nos. 1–89), the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (nos. 90–191), the Śilāhāra dynasties (nos. 192–255), the Yādavas

(nos. 256–368), the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa (nos. 369–597) and the Kalacuryas (nos. 598–636). Nearly 270 inscriptions have been added to those listed by Kielhorn (*Epigraphia Indica*, vii, 1907). The introduction contains seventy pages of useful notes on the material, size, style, matter, formulæ, script, language, dating, and chronology of the inscriptions. In this section Dr. Naik has taken into account the earlier inscriptions of the region, which, in view of his title, should have been included in the list, if only for the sake of completeness. An appendix provides a geographical index to the inscriptions, including those of pre-Cālukya dynasties not listed by Dr. Naik.

Full details of the contents of the inscriptions are normally given, but for less important inscriptions these are sometimes omitted, presumably owing to shortage of space. This is regrettable, as it lessens the usefulness of the work and involves the research student using the list in extra labour. However, Dr. Naik's painstaking work will prove an invaluable help to the advanced student.

A. L. Basham.

Mahavastu. Vol. I. Sacred Books of the Buddhists, XVI. Trans. J. J. Jones. pp. xx + 324. London, 1949.

A translation from the Northern Buddhist tradition is welcome, as recent scholarship seems to show that it is quite as reliable as the Pali, which has been so long familiar that it is apt to be considered as the only Buddhism, and the greater antiquity of its canon is assumed. The present translator leans heavily on the Pali. His translation is in flowing and readable English, with only the slight archaism that seems inseparable from the hieratic—at any rate, whose absence scandalizes the devout. It has also the virtue of correctness; and whenever this is doubtful Mr. Jones adds footnotes to explain the cause. Comment and explanation also are in concise footnotes. Mr. Jones writes a brief and modest preface, indicating the scope of his work: but we would very much like his third and last volume to give a detailed exposition of his views on the many problems in the writing and compilation of the text; otherwise someone else will have to undertake a task for which he is so eminently qualified.

Ronald M. Smith.

KASHMIR. BEING A HISTORY OF KASHMIR FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO OUR OWN. By Dr. G. M. D. SUFI. 2 vols. pp. xxvii + 833. Index, pp. 258. University of the West Punjab, Lahore, 1948.

This, in the author's words, is "intended as a source book for workers in the subject", and so he has "not hesitated to quote copiously from specialists and eye-witnesses . . . not reproducing their accounts in his own words". This, therefore, is a compilation of all, it seems, that has ever been said about Kashmir and its people, true or false. The reader who expects a critical interpretation of Kashmir's history or people will be disappointed. The assumption that testimony about a subject is *ipso facto* a statement of the history of that subject (except where it offends the author's feelings, when it is treated as calumny rather than as evidence) will strike historians as rather curious. Nevertheless, a judicious use of the very full index will open up a mine of miscellaneous general information and judgments which are both diverting and stimulating. There is also a remarkable synchronistic chronological table at the end of Volume I covering the period A.D. 1324–1819, giving events in Kashmir, India, and the world outside India.

P. HARDY.

DIE PHILOSOPHEN DER UPANISHADEN. By W. RUBEN. 9½ × 6¼. pp. 338. A. Francke. Bern, 1947.

Dr. Ruben considers Upanishadic as part of world thought, not occurring *in vacuo*. And its portrayal as an even development through each generation (an idealized schematism) can be accepted for clarity, and its correspondence to logical if not particular fact: Indian studies are too apt to copy the limitation of Indian thought and consider everything separately. But Dr. Ruben's sympathetic imagination is not disciplined, and his book would lead the innocent to believe we have an unchallenged familiarity with remote personalities, when in fact there are few darker spots in world history than Upanishadic India. Nor where he might be right or helpful does Dr. Ruben establish his positions. E.g., Pratardana of Kaus. Up. 3/1 is identified as of Kaśi (following Pargiter and M.Bh.), though this connection is not mentioned in religious sources. If it is correct, his generation is long before the great battle, and to put him without more ado *c.* 580–50 is to become a not very historical

novelist. Kaus. Up. 3/1 says P., by fighting and virility, arrived at the abode of Indra. How elsewhere ? P. is a kshatriya hero, whose story has been brahmanized ; as how often in Brahmanical tradition the great deeds of kings are not political but to conduct and pay for sacrifices. To infer from this that P. tried to reinstate Indra as greatest of the gods, against the current belief in Brahma, seems utterly unwarranted, and may even indicate complete misunderstanding of Upanishadic belief and mentality. To make this historical personage, on the strength of the quite common amoralism of Kaus. Up. 3/1—"he who knows me, his world is not injured by any evil deed whatsoever"—an "inquiring protagonist" of a morality suitable to the ideology of political despotism, is only making bad very much worse. This sort of thing is typical of the book.

RONALD M. SMITH.

THE BACKGROUND OF ASSAMESE CULTURE. By R. M. NATH. pp. 13 + 158 + 5 + 6 + x, with 38 plates and 2 maps. Published by A. K. Nath, Shillong, 1948. Rs. 7/8.

This book traces the history of Assam from the earliest times down to the coming of the British. It in no way supersedes the works of Sir Edward Gait and K. L. Barua, but succeeds in giving the Indian reader an imaginative rather than a scientifically accurate picture of Assam's history.

The professional historian may regret the reliance placed on the Purānic and Epic legends as sources for the earliest history of the region. These legends, stripped of their supernatural trappings and loosely combined with scraps of anthropology and archæology, are presented as historical facts, a practice all too common in Indian popular histories.

Lesser errors, based usually on an over-imaginative treatment of the material, are comparatively innocuous. Mr. Nath's style, while not always idiomatic, is quite readable, and he conveys something of his own personality to his readers. Without setting the Brahmaputra on fire he has produced a work of value to those who do not demand scientific accuracy. Well-chosen plates reproduce striking and little known examples of Assamese sculpture and architecture.

A. L. BASHAM.

INDIAN TRAVELS OF THEVENOT AND CARERI. Edited by Dr. SURENDRANATH SEN, Director of Archives, Government of India. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. lxiv + 434, 20 illustrations and 3 maps. Published by the National Archives of India, New Delhi, for the Indian Record Series, 1949. Price Rs. 20.

This is a welcome addition to the Indian Record Series, after the lapse of thirty-six years since the last previous issue of Sir Richard Temple's *Diaries of Streysham Master*.

The volume seeks to make Thevenot's and Careri's accounts of India, as they saw it in 1666 and 1695 respectively, better known to English-speaking persons in a readable form with requisite annotations. English translations published in 1687 and 1704 are now difficult to procure. They are reproduced here exactly as they stand, but omissions and inaccuracies in the translation are corrected by the editor's notes in an appendix.

The decision to retain these early translations instead of having a fresh version in modern English will be regretted by the "common reader" unfamiliar with the frequent archaic words and expressions. Not even obvious misprints like "rats" for "bats", "cod" for "pod", "wine" for "mine", and "house" for "horse", have been corrected or shown correctly in brackets next the mistake; the proper word being relegated to a far-away note. This occurs even where the misprint involves nonsense, such as "the" for "she" on p. 2 (n. 18), or reverses the sense, such as "have" for "shave" on p. 93 (n. 11), in connection with the beards and hair of Fakirs. The vast difference that a modern version makes in ease of reading will be seen by comparing Prof. H. G. Rawlinson's translation of Thevenot's eight chapters relating to Surat (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. lvi, pp. 199–204, 217–220) with the corresponding chapters in this book.

Minor points are that the misprint "Revelled" for "Rebelled", on p. 147, last line, has escaped detection in the notes and *Corrigenda*; and that for casual, as opposed to continuous, reference to the notes, it would facilitate the finding of the appropriate note if the pages covered by each chapter were shown in the headings mentioning the chapters.

Apart from the above criticism, the book deserves every praise. It has been well printed, and its editing shows skill and care. Dr. Sen's introduction is admirably comprehensive, extending not

only to Thevenot and Careri, but to all the main European travellers whose accounts of India and its inhabitants in the seventeenth century have been published. It well discriminates between their value as independent observers who "could fearlessly tell the unvarnished truth, regardless of official frowns", and the weakness inherent in their accounts due to misinformation, prejudice, or misapprehension of Indian thought and customs from ignorance of the "higher teachings" in Hinduism. The copious notes are concise as well as informative, and cover botanical and zoological points arising from descriptions of flora and fauna in the text.

CHARLES FAWCETT.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY AND ETHNOGRAPHY OF GUJARAT. By HASMUKH D. SANKALIA. pp. xiv + 245, with 3 maps. Deccan College Monograph Series: 3. Poona, 1949.

In this monograph, based on a series of five lectures delivered at the University of Bombay in 1944, the author presents the results of an exhaustive study of the names to be found in Gujarāt inscriptions, up to the coming of the Muslims. The empire of the Caulukyas, which has left the largest number of inscriptions, receives the greatest attention, but the earlier dynasties, too, are treated with thoroughness.

After a general introduction the author deals with the political divisions of ancient Gujarāt, its place names, and the names of persons contained in the inscriptions. Caulukya proper names are conveniently classified in lengthy appendices. The final chapter surveys the information obtained from their study.

Many of Professor Sankalia's conclusions are negative. Thus, "... it is not possible to say from a comparison between the inscriptional and modern place-names what the old language of Gujarat was" (p. 175). But the author believes that "... some names and name endings ... do point to an earlier (?) Austro-Asiatic cultural phase in Gujarat" (p. 181). Personal names indicate an "almost complete non-observance of the rules laid down even in the latest Gṛhya Sūtras and a literal interpretation of the vague rules prescribed by Manu" (p. 154). In this passage "literal" seems to be a misprint for "liberal", for the list given by Professor Sankalia on p. 119 shows that the Gujarāt brāhmaṇs were by no

means strict in their observance of Manu's rules concerning *upapada*. The material studied in the fourth lecture throws valuable light on the evolution of the existing caste divisions of Gujarât.

Despite the comparatively modest results of Professor Sankalia's researches, his able and very thorough study will be of great value to the specialist student, whether of the history, the ethnology, or the language of Gujarât, and should set an example for similar regional studies in other parts of India.

A. L. BASHAM.

A HISTORY OF MAITHILI LITERATURE. By Dr. JAYAKANTA MISHRA. Vol. I. Introduction by Prof. S. K. CHATTERJI. pp. xxviii + 469. Tirabhukti publications. Allahabad, 1949.

This most useful contribution to Indian philology is the first exhaustive chronological survey of Maithili literature, comprising the "Early Period"—up to A.D. 1600—and the "Middle Period" (A.D. 1600–1800). It incorporates the vast material that has come to light since Grierson's *The Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*, and gives detailed bibliographical references.

Dr. Mishra begins with an account of Mithila (whose name he still derives from √ manth = to churn), as the home of traditional learning, and adds a list of features from the Linguistic Survey that justify the right of Maithili to be regarded as a language distinct from Bengali and Hindi; but then he tries to claim for it the earliest modern vernacular writings of Eastern India, the Buddhist Caryapadas, which he says belong to the south-east border district of Mithila. He concludes his survey of the mystic poetry of the eighty-four Buddhist saints with the dangerous assertion: "There are several other authors who have written similar Buddhistic Dohas (!) or Padas in Proto-Maithili. No account of their work can be given, as they are not yet available" (p. 118). It is difficult to attempt such a narrow localization for this period, and the linguistic arguments, such as the instrumentals, etc., which are all common features of the earlier stages of the Magadhan languages, do not seem sufficient to overthrow the current theory of Prof. Chatterji and others that these texts belong to Bengal.

After an enthusiastic account of the Varnaratnakara, and then of Vidyapati, the greatest Maithili poet, and the tradition of Brajabuli

poetry that he inspired throughout Eastern India (a subject already investigated by Dr. Sen), there follows what is perhaps the best part of the work, the history of Maithili drama in and outside Mithila. Only in the case of Umapati Upadhyaya, whom he places, on good historical grounds, into the seventeenth century, despite his archaic language, does Dr. Mishra differ widely from the "accepted" chronology. The chapters on Middle Maithili prose and poetry give first-hand information on a hitherto practically unexplored subject. Except in these chapters one feels overburdened by the number and the volume of quotations, which give the impression that large parts of the book are a compilation of extracts rather than original work. It is a pity that the book should be marred by so many printing mistakes.

L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD.

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES. Part I. By BIMALA CHURN LAW. pp. 128. Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, 1950.

This book contains two essays entitled "History of Monarchical and Non-monarchical Minor States in the Period from 325 B.C. to A.D. 300" and "Social and Economic Conditions from the Earliest Times down to the Nanda Dynasty". While containing no new information, both are useful summaries of existing knowledge. It would seem, however, that they have been compiled hurriedly from notes without adequate revision.

To take one example—on p. 85, after mentioning a reference to a famine in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, Dr. Law writes that in the Pre-Buddhist Period "the chief cultivated crop was barley or *yava*, but there is no mention of rice". Yet on the same page and that following he states that this cereal is referred to in the Vājasaneyī and Taittirīya Saṃhitās and in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, giving references in each case. And in his account of the brāhmaṇic rules with regard to meat eating, Dr. Law writes: "The two-hoofed animals, with the exception of the deer called *śarya*, the *pṛṣata*, the buffalo, the boar (*varāha*), and the reindeer (*kuraṅga*) are dis-allowed [*sic*]" (p. 106). This translation of *kuraṅga* seems to imply that Dr. Law supports the now very unpopular theory that the original home of the Āryans was within the Arctic Circle!

A. L. BASHAM.

THE DHAMMAPADA, WITH INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS. Pali Text, English translation and notes by S. RADHAKRISHNAN. pp. vi and 194. Oxford University Press, 1950. Price 12*s*. 6*d*.

It is an event to welcome Professor Sir S. Radhakrishnan's edition of the *Dhammapada*. The work is arranged on the same plan as his edition of the *Bhagavadgītā*, that is, there first comes the Pali (in roman letters), verse by verse, each verse being followed immediately by the English translation, which in its turn is often succeeded by notes on terms or ideas and comparable quotations from the literature of other traditions.

The first Introduction briefly presents possible meanings of the term *Dhammapada*: it is the path of virtue or the utterances of religion (the law). So Professor Radhakrishnan translates *dhamma* in the text by "virtue" and by "law", thus sometimes ignoring Buddhaghosa who, for example, says that *dhamma*, in ver. 151 (here "virtue"), is the ninefold transcendental *dhamma*. But there is the second Introduction, a reprint (with valuable notes added) of Professor Radhakrishnan's British Academy Annual Lecture on a Master Mind, 1938, in which he discusses *dhamma* in an illuminating way; and also *attā* (*anatta* is considered, too, in a note to ver. 279)—these two words being the only ones to be marked by *passim* in the Index—and *nibbāna*, a word which in the English translation here appears in its Sanskrit form, with the one exception of "release" at ver. 289.

Translations of other words also vary. Thus, *āsava* is rendered by "passions", "taints", "impurities", and *anāsava* (ver. 126) by "free from worldly taints". *Samādhi* is usually "tranquillity", once (ver. 271) "meditative calm". And *appamāda* is generally "vigilance", once "reflectiveness" (ver. 22). Pali technical terms are, of course, recognized to contain a subtle variety of meanings. Some of these will be appreciated by anyone making, from either a personal or more objective standpoint, the reasonably intensive study of this volume which it deserves as well as makes possible, and which the *Dhammapada* as Dhamma for the laity requires. The Pali Index might have been fuller. A number of words, including *jhāna*, *thala*, *uddhaṃsota*, are not listed.

I. B. HORNER.

CANON BOUDDHIQUE PÂLI (TIPIṬAKA). Texte et Traduction. Suttapiṭaka, Dīghanikāya, par J. BLOCH, J. FILLIOZAT, L. RENOU. Tome I. Fascicule 1, pp. 97.

This first fasciculus of ninety-seven double pages preludes a new edition of the whole Pali Tipiṭaka with an original scholarly translation, so as to furnish a reliable "Sacred Book" of Theravāda Buddhism. And the feature of this edition is that it is founded on a Cambodian basis hitherto ignored or neglected.

Of the group of thirteen suttas of the Dīgha which form an independent collection (Dīgha, Vol. I, in the Pali Text Society's edition) nos. 1–3 are presented here. The introductory sutta is one of the curiosities of the Pali Canon and a late compilation not merely because it is the first one: its whole tendentious and propagandist nature places it in the category of apologetics at the time when Buddhist speculation was trying to hold its own by advancing a systematic, logical defence of controversial points against the theories and practices of Brahmanism. The airy character of the Brahmajāla is reflected by its ambiguous titles, where the net of the Dhamma stands side by side with that of Brahmā (perhaps "the magic net", cf. Indrajāla, black magic, at Divyāvadāna, p. 320) and the "unparalleled victory in the battle (of dialectics)" beside the "heresy of other views (diṭṭhi)": evidently a blunt make-up of late speculation.

As for the title of this sutta: it is clearly not settled what value to place on the first part of its compound brahma-: M. Renou translates it as "le filet de Brahman", Gogerly, in Grimblot's ed., p. 112, "Brahminical net." Grimblot himself (Introd.) "réseau brahmanique", Rhys Davids, "the perfect net," and R. O. Franke, "das Netz des hohen Wissens."

This new text is invaluable for verifying and adjusting the Pali Text Society's readings by the Cambodian readings, and its very handy arrangement consists in giving the subject-matter consecutively in single paragraphs (suttas 1–3, as from 1–177, e.g.) instead of splitting it up into chapters and other divisions. A comparison with the PTS edition is facilitated by the insertion of the pages of the latter into the text in square brackets.

W. STEDE.

Archæology and Art

SHIRAZ PAINTING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By GRACE DUNHAM GUEST. pp. v, 70; 50 plates. Washington.

Miss Guest's valuable study deals with a particular type of sixteenth-century Persian book painting, numerous examples of which have survived, differing in certain respects, easily recognizable in a general way, from the sumptuous court art of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign, of which the celebrated *Niẓāmī* at the British Museum is the supreme example. Miss Guest was led to her researches by a manuscript of the *Khamsah* of Niẓāmī in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, dated 955/1548, and by a comparison of its miniatures with those of a *Ẓafar-nāmah*, which is two years earlier, and of which a detailed study by Emmy Wellesz and Kurt Blauensteiner was published before the war. Both manuscripts are written by the same scribe, Murshid, known as al-'Aṭṭār al-Shīrāzī, who also copied numerous other manuscripts, now in various collections.

Miniatures from many other manuscripts (fifty-six in all—mostly with miniatures—were taken into account) reveal striking points of similarity, and Miss Guest makes out a good case for her theory that this type of painting emanated from Shiraz, which had a brilliant art tradition in the fifteenth century—indeed, probably earlier.

It is not possible here to deal with Miss Guest's stylistic analysis of these miniatures, or with her interesting diagrams, showing the mathematical principles the painters followed. She rightly draws attention, not only to the positive merits—logical composition, charming colour, and skilful craftsmanship—of a type of painting liable to be overshadowed by the great Ṣafavī masters' work, but also to what seem to be their conservative features.

J. V. S. WILKINSON.

THE ART OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN, A COMMEMORATIVE CATALOGUE OF THE EXHIBITION HELD AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS, 1947–8. Ed. by Sir LEIGH ASHTON. Faber and Faber. 1950. 4¼ guineas.

With 8 plates in colour and 152 in monochrome this volume is not only a fitting memorial of the finest collection of Indian works of art ever assembled but also an indispensable reference-book for students of Oriental sculpture, painting, textiles, and jewellery. Its permanent value is assured not only by the illustrations but by articles from the pen of three acknowledged experts. India's greatest

art form, sculpture, is introduced by Professor Codrington, whose essay, if at the start discursive, is eminently readable. His assertion that Indian sculpture is not derived from wood-carving because technique and tools differ is hardly perhaps convincing when, as he notes, "the cave-temples from Bhājā to Ellora preserve the details of the old wooden architecture," and again "a change from chisel-cut lettering to pen and ink will create a cursive style". Professor Codrington has had a lighter task than Mr. Basil Gray, whose intricate subject requires so much documentation that to appreciate its profound erudition fully a student needs an art library at his elbow. Direct æsthetic criticism is generally avoided. But when Mr. Irwin calls the Amsterdam Natarāja "remarkable as a technical feat of modelling", one might have expected a reference to the poise and vitality that makes an earlier Natarāja (Plate 50) one of the world's greatest bronzes.

The price of the volume is inevitably prohibitive except for institutions and the wealthy, and when this edition is sold out India at any rate should welcome a cheaper book consisting only of the plates and a popular introduction.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

CLASSICAL INDIAN SCULPTURE. 300 B.C. TO A.D. 500. By CHINTAMONI KAR. pp. 38 + 86 plates. Alec Tiranti, Ltd., London, 1950. 6s.

This little book is the first of a series planned to form an introduction to the study of ancient and medieval art in India. Many of the excellent illustrations portray sculpture shown at the Royal Academy (1947–8) and later at Delhi. And like those exhibitions, this popular series should serve to make both Europe and India better acquainted with a great art, unduly decried by Roger Fry and still "miching mallecho" to English critics. The introduction is lucid and comprehensive, and the descriptive notes are those of an artist as well as an historian.

LE PITTURE MUSULMANE AL SOFFITTO DELLA CAPPELLA PALATINA IN PALERMO. By HUGO MONNERET DE VILLARD. pp. 82, 250 figs. La Libreria dello Stato, Roma, 1950.

This book fulfils a need felt by all interested in Islamic art. Very little actual Islamic painting previous to the "Baghdad School"

of the thirteenth century has survived in comparison with the literary evidence. Even from a later period no work remains which can compare in scope with the paintings decorating the sumptuously carved ceiling made for King Roger II by Islamic artists. Apart from outline drawings of a few details, published in the last century, the only photographs accessible were those which gave a summary view of that magnificent work. Now it can be closely studied from 250 reproductions, though (as stated in the preface) a comparatively cheap process had to be applied which excludes the possibility of using a magnifying glass.

The author's aim was mainly to present the material and to give a few general facts. Yet, as is to be expected from so eminent a scholar, his text far exceeds his target. Apart from providing all the dates for the ceiling itself he gives a brilliant survey, not only of all previous and contemporary Islamic painting, but of all other relevant branches of art, Islamic as well as Christian. For iconographic as well as for stylistic reasons he concludes that various groups of craftsmen were responsible for the paintings, the most interesting of which he sees in those exhibiting a naturalistic style unusual in Islamic art. Tentatively, he links these particular paintings with the art which flourished in Northern Mesopotamia, especially at the Urtukid courts of Kaifa and Amida, and of Merdan where, judging from the few surviving documents, a lively exchange between Byzantine and Islamic art-forms seems to have taken place. And he thinks that, perhaps through the intermediary of the Counts of Edessa, Mesopotamian artists may have been summoned by Roger to work in Palermo. This would account for the fact that some of the paintings seem to foreshadow the great naturalistic school which soon was to develop in Mesopotamia, and which is generally known as the Baghdad School.

EMMY WELLESZ.

ARCHÆOLOGY IN INDIA. Bureau of Education, India, Publication no. 66. pp. vi + 219 + 66 plates (including 3 maps). Government of India, Ministry of Education, Department of Archæology. Dehli, 1950.

This well-documented and useful volume, written by well-known Indian archæologists under the editorship of Dr. Humayun Kabir,

contains a brief survey of the whole field of Indian Archæology. The archæology of Pakistan is included for, as Dr. Kabir remarks, "present-day political boundaries do not necessarily conform to ancient cultural zones."

The book deals with the history of archæological research in India, exploration and excavations, architecture, both Hindu and Muslim, sculpture and painting, conservation and chemical preservation, museums, and epigraphy. In a concluding chapter on "Greater India", the material remains of Indian influence outside India proper are discussed. A chapter on coins would have been of value for historians, and has surely as much right to be included as has the epigraphy of copper-plate charters.

The work contains a well chosen series of plates and three excellent maps.

A. L. BASHAM.

BUDDHISM AND ASOKA. By B. G. GOKHALE, with foreword by Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S.J. Indian Historical Research Institute Studies in Indian History, No. 17. pp. v + 296, with 7 plates. Padmaja Publications, Baroda, n.d. Rs. 13/8.

A rather misleading title conceals a study of religion, politics, social and economic conditions, and art in Maurya and Śuṅga times. We would agree with many of Dr. Gokhale's conclusions—for instance, that Buddhism began as a religious order and only later developed the attributes of a popular religion; that it did exert some influence against the rigid application of the rules of *varṇa* (which Dr. Gokhale seems to equate with caste); and that the Mauryan empire broke up, not through any lack of realism on Aśoka's part, but through the strife and inefficiency of his successors. But these conclusions, which some may controvert, have been reached independently by others, and the work, while serving as a useful compendium of information and of quotations from earlier workers in the field, throws little new light on the subject. Typographical errors are egregiously numerous, and the plates are poorly reproduced.

A. L. BASHAM.

Islam

A COMMENTARY ON THE CREED OF ISLAM: AL-TAFTAZANI ON THE CREED OF AL-NASAFI. Translated, with introduction and notes, by EARL EDGAR ELDER. pp. xxxii + 187. New York: Columbia University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege). 1950. 30s.

Attempts to make Islamic theology accessible to Western readers are to be welcomed. Few except those who have worked in this neglected field can appreciate its difficulties, in overcoming which Dr. Elder has attained a high degree of success. For the solid achievement of the translation, for the discussion of al-Taftazani's accommodation of al-Nasafi to Ash'arite orthodoxy, and for many useful cross-references, scholars are indebted to him. Yet just because this book is good, one wishes it had been a little better. The translation often does not read easily, as if each phrase and sentence had been treated in isolation and not as part of an argument; and words are not always given the sense required by the context (e.g. *nuṣūṣ*, p. 81, etc., not "statutes" but scriptural texts). Even if the translator felt that some arguments, such as that on p. 81, are too "hair-splitting" to be worth elucidating, yet others, like that on p. 61 to the effect that all types of speech are reducible to *khabar* or statement of fact, could easily have been made clearer. In a work like this some latitude is permissible in translation to make the course of thought clear, and a brief note giving what the translator takes to be the point of an argument is often desirable. In general, however, Dr. Elder's translation, despite occasional shortcomings, will give those not closely acquainted with Islam some idea of the scope and method of Islamic theology.

W. MONTGOMERY WATT.

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ISLAMIC SOCIETY AND THE WEST. A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East. Vol. I, Islamic Society in the Eighteenth Century. By H. A. R. GIBB and H. BOWEN. Part I. London: Oxford University Press. 1950. 25s.

Two of the leading authorities on the Near East here set out to survey little studied aspects of its history. There have been too many judgments of Islamic society based on superficial contact and imperfect knowledge. The sociological outlook of to-day demands

greater objectivity, and the present work attempts to meet that demand. In the absence of an account of the previous condition of Islamic society—an indispensable foundation for a study of the impact of the West—the authors have made it their first task to give such an account. Yet this volume is not simply a masterly collection of information about the administration of the Turkish Empire round about 1750 and also about the state of the peasantry and city-dwellers (other aspects of society being left to Part II); through the authors' insight into the outlook of the Muslim, they help the reader to appreciate some of the superficially incomprehensible or repellent attitudes of the Near East, like the respect for harsh rule and contempt for mildness (p. 205). The complete work should initiate in the West not merely an era of more objective understanding of Islam but one of more sympathetic comprehension. The problem of transliteration encountered by authors dealing with both Arabic and Turkish sources suggests that orientalists will have to pay more deference to the "official" Muslim transliteration, i.e. the Turkish.

W. MONTGOMERY WATT.

CORRIGENDUM

JRAS. Parts 3 and 4, 1950, page 193. In line 19 of my review of *A History of the Jews in Baghdad*, for "Arbour Day" read "in the spring, very soon after the Passover". On Arbour Day there is a ceremony connected with commemoration of the dead, in which dried fruits are blessed. —E. S. DROWER.

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The Bodhisattva Going To School. Fig. 1.



The Bodhisattva Going To School. Fig. 2.

Masterpieces of Oriental Art. 17

Representations of the Bodhisattva Going to School, in Gandhāra Reliefs

By H. HARGREAVES

(PLATE IV)

IN the Exhibition of Indian Art held in London at the Royal Academy of Arts in 1947–48, was a Gandhāra sculpture No. 106, lent by Major-General H. L. Haughton, C.B., C.I.E., C.B.E.[1] It is now in the possession of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Its official Museum number is I.S. 51–1948. It measures 35 cm. in length and 32 cm. in height (Pl. IV, fig. 1).

In the foreground is a two-wheeled chariot drawn by two rams and in this, seated in European fashion, is the youthful Bodhisattva with right hand upraised in what, in the perfect Buddha, would be the *abhaya-mudrā*. The robe, at first sight might suggest the Buddha, but the obvious youthfulness and the fact that the figure wears ear ornaments, indicate the Bodhisattva as do also the accompanying children. Representations of the child Bodhisattva with halo and *ushnisha* are not unknown.[2]

In the upper field behind the Bodhisattva is a tree, the foliage resembling that of the conventional *śāla*.[3] On the right of this, behind the Bodhisattva stands a youthful monk-like figure with shaven head, the hands clasped in adoration and wearing bracelets on the left wrist. On the other side of the tree is a standing figure with a curious unidentified pad-like object, with short crossed straps, resting on the left shoulder.

The rams drawing the cart are controlled by a youthful personage who stands by the side of the shaft, the reins held in the now broken left hand, the right hand extended towards the heavy yoke which rests on the necks of the rams.

Standing in front of the rams is a boy carrying in his right hand a writing board (*takhti*) and in the left an inkpot (*dawāt*), resembling those still in use in Indian primary schools.

In the upper field are four youthful standing figures, two of them carrying a *takhti* in the right hand and a cubical *dawāt* in the left.

[1] See *The Art of India and Pakistan*, p. 26 and pl. 19, 111.
[2] A.G.-B.G., fig. 164.
[3] Ibid., fig. 224.

The other two have the right side of the body hidden, but doubtless they carried a *takhti* also as the one on the right bears an inkpot in the left hand. These four youths have ear ornaments, and apparently necklaces, and two display bracelets.

The youthful bearers of *takhti* and *dawāt* are obviously going to school in company with the Bodhisattva. The tenth chapter of the *Lalita-vistara* deals with this event, and sculptural representations of the Bodhisattva *in* school are found in the museums of Peshawar, Lahore, and Calcutta.[1]

The text expatiates on the cortège that accompanies the Bodhisattva to the *lipi-śālā*, the sculptor, more restrained, shows only five of the ten thousand Sakya youths who formed part of the retinue, but the ram chariot indicates the dignity of occupant and and importance of the occasion.

There is nothing unusual in the representation of rams in the events of the early life of the Bodhisattva as we have at least two Gandhāra reliefs depicting his *going to school* mounted on a ram. In the first, No. 131 of the Peshawar Museum,[2] we see Siddhartha not only riding a ram but, in the same panel, seated in school and engaged in writing. The second relief, I.S. No. 6–1949 of the Victoria and Albert Museum, shows him riding a ram, the reins in his left hand, the right upraised, while an attendant holds over his head the royal umbrella. By the head of the ram stands a female attendant holding the handle of a large writing board (Pl. IV, fig. 2). The Haughton sculpture seems to be a natural development of increasing elaboration under the influence of the texts.

It is not possible to identify the five school fellows of the Bodhisattva or with any certainty the pseudo-monk or the pad-bearer, but it will not be unduly temerarious to suggest that the conductor of the ram chariot is Chandaka, the future groom of the Buddha's horse, Kanthaka.

The details of this relief are worthy of remark, and the sculptor has displayed considerable artistry in the varied treatment of the hair, the harness, the fleece, and the elaborate wheel of which the linch-pin is carefully delineated. The bosses between the spokes of the wheel recall those which appear on the wheels of the Asokan capital at Sarnath, and on the Gateways of Sanchi.

[1] Peshawar Museum, Nos. 131, 151, 347; Lahore Museum, Nos. 2062, 206, A.G.-B.G., figs. 165 (b), 167; Calcutta Museum, A.G.-B.G., fig. 166.

[2] Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1906–7, pl. xxxi (a).

Whether these are a technical device or purely ornamental is uncertain.

Major-General Haughton states that the relief was found in the Charsada Tehsil of the Peshawar District, and believes it was from Mahmano Dheri near Sherpao. This appears to be the same site as the Mamāni Dheri, which yielded the fine sculpture depicting The Visit of Indra, which bears a Kharoshṭī inscription of the year 89, one of the two dated Gandhāra inscriptions of which the date has never been questioned.[1]

For permission to reproduce the copyright photograph of the Haughton relief, I am indebted to the courtesy of the Royal Academy of Arts and to the Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum for allowing me to publish the two sculptures, and to Major-General Haughton for information touching the provenance of this detailed representation of the Bodhisattva going to school.

[1] Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1928–29, p. 142, pl. lviii (*a*, *c*).

The Makara in Early Chinese Buddhist Sculpture

By J. H. LINDSAY, M.A.

(PLATE V)

IN the early Buddhist cave temples made in the latter half of the fifth century A.D., during the Northern Wei dynasty, at Yün-kang, in the Shansi Province of North China, can be found several carvings of a curious creature connected with the arches over a seated Buddha figure. It occurs at either end of the arch, the end merging into the hinder part of the creature, which is left with two legs, a long neck, and head. The body is turned away from the arch so that the two creatures are back to back, one at each end of the arch. Examples can be seen in Dr. Sirén's *Chinese Sculpture from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century*, plates 51, 55, 57, 59, 60, and 61, in Tokiwa Daijo and Sikeno Tadaishi's *Buddhist Monuments in China*, vol. ii, plates 22 (2), 27, 30 (2), and 40, and in Chavannes' *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale*, plates 255, 256, 262–8, 272, and 277. Its representation was thus of common occurrence but nobody seems to have ventured to identify the creature. It is true that Dr. Sirén, with reference to plate 60 mentioned above, described the two arches being supported by two hydras and again wrote of the hydra and phœnix-like birds which support the foils of the arches, but he goes no further than this vague description.

In Dr. Sirén's plate 61 (Pl. V, fig. 1), the creature is on a scale large enough to note certain details. The two feet are solid, flat on the ground, set at right-angles to the short stout leg, not like the feet of a bird or even of the mythical dragon. The whole body and neck appears to be covered with feathers like a bird. On the side of the body is something that looks like a wing, a small wing for this heavily built creature. The body is continued into a long neck which is twisted so that the head of the creature looks towards the Buddha as if in adoration. The head bears a horn or comb and the jaws are well supplied with teeth. Most remarkable is the upper lip of the mouth, which is recurved in a most pronounced manner. The feet and mouth would seem to rule out the possibility of the creature being any known bird, in spite of the feathered body and the small wing. It might, of course, be a composite fabulous monster, and the possibility of its being a dragon,

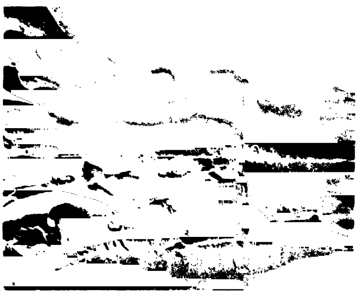


FIG. 1. FROM A CAVE AT YUN-KANG.

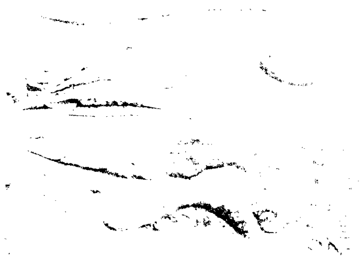


FIG. 2. FROM THE LIEN HUA TUNG AT LUNG-MÊN

the monster that occurs so frequently in Chinese Art, must be considered. The carving of feathers might really be a representation of scales. Some dragons have been known from very early times to have had horns, but this solution would not account for the feet or the curious recurved nose. In all these considerations one must remember that in Buddhist sculpture elements that at first sight appear purely decorative have often if not always definite religious associations. The other examples at Yün-kang do not, as far as I know, help us any further in coming to a decision.

The next series of Northern Wei sculptures were found in the cave temples at Lung-mên, on the banks of the river I, in the province of Honan. In the earliest cave, the Ku Yang Tung, the creature can be found just as at Yün-kang. Examples can be seen in Chavannes' *Mission archéologique*, plates 376–8, 386, and 387. The work probably dates from the last decade of the fifth century, for the earliest inscription in the cave is dated A.D. 495, the year after the Northern Wei capital was transferred from P'ing-ch'eng, in Shansi, to Lo-yang, in Honan. The sculpture in this cave is similar to that at Yün-kang, and the creature under discussion can be found as before at the ends of the arches over the Buddha. In another cave, however, the Lien Hua Tung, where the earliest inscription dates from A.D. 522, there is great change in the sculpture. The Bodhisattvas are no longer the tall, stately figures of Yün-kang, devoid of ornaments, but are stumpy and loaded with garlands. On the south wall of this cave are many kinds of arch endings, such as bird heads and other decorations. Relevant to this discussion is one of these endings, of which fortunately there is a good photograph in *Buddhist Monuments in China*, vol. ii, plate 75 (Pl. V, fig. 2). The end of the arch is an unmistakable dragon's foot, quite different from the foot of the creature in fig. 1, but at its side is a curious creature, at first glimpse rather like a hermit crab pulled out of its shell. A closer examination discloses a crest or comb on the head and a recurved upper lip, the same extraordinary feature that was in fig. 1. It seems probable that the Chinese artist, not recognizing the creature as one within his experience, had allowed his imagination to lead him to a dragon's foot, and then somehow to bring in the extraordinary head of the original creature. This time, however, the creature had a lotus flower in its mouth. This new feature gives a possible clue to its identity. At Amaravati, in South India, about

the second century A.D., on the great Buddhist stupas there were many carvings of a marine animal with a recurved upper lip, holding a lotus flower in its mouth, the well-known Indian *makara*.

The *makara* has a long history in Indian Buddhist art, which has been described by Professor J. Ph. Vogel in *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, tome vi, no. iii, pp. 133–147, "Le Makara dans la Sculpture de l'Inde." The earliest known portrayal of the *makara* is as a crocodile in the corner of a carved panel over the entrance to the Lomas Rishi cave in Bihar, North India, constructed in the time of Asoka, the third century B.C. The crocodile has a recurved upper lip. At Bharhut, in Central India, at the middle of the second century B.C., the *makara* is carved with a scaly tail curled back on itself and with a small fin behind the leg. In the first century A.D. it is portrayed at Mathura, in the United Provinces, with a fish tail and a small fin behind the leg. At Amaravati, in South India, in work of the second and third century A.D., are many carvings of the creature with the body and tail of a fish, but sometimes the head carries a large horn like a ram's. As Professor Vogel wrote, real animals hardly change down the ages but the imaginary *makara* changes continuously under the urge of artistic imagination and from the need to create each time something richer and more artistic. In all these Indian variations, the skin of scales, the head of the crocodile with gaping mouth well furnished with teeth, the recurved upper lip and the feet of the crocodile are constant.

Returning to the creature in fig. 1 we find that it has a scaly skin, a gaping mouth well furnished with teeth, a recurved upper lip, and feet like those of a crocodile. Thus, it agrees with the Indian *makara* in all these features that are constant in the many variations that occur. If we assume that the "wing" is a fin, the identity would appear to be complete. The question remains, however, what was the religious association of this beast with the Buddha statues. In all the cases noted above from India, the *makara* is a decoration on a building and the two *makaras* face inwards towards each other, while at Yün-kang the creatures face outwards, back to back. It is at Amaravati, in South India, that there can be found the use of *makara* heads as decorations on the throne on which Buddha was seated. It was commonly at the ends of the cross-bar at the back of the throne, and this time the *makara* heads point outwards. Sometimes the *makara* heads had beside them slender animal figures standing

on their hind legs,[1] called by Professor Vogel leogryphs or *vyālaka*. This combination of *makara* and leogryph at the side of the Buddha figure persisted for several hundred years in India. In the famous Sarnath Buddha (Gupta work nearly contemporary with the early work at Yün-kang) can be found this combination of *makara* and leogryph. Thanks to Mr. Gray, Keeper of Oriental Antiquities of the British Museum, I was able to examine the Sarnath Buddha image in that collection and found that the *makara* head was clearly attached to the throne of Buddha. The combination appears also in the Buddhist carvings of the tenth century Pāla dynasty of Bengal. It found its way to China during the T'ang dynasty and can be seen in a Buddha trinity, found near Ch'ang-an, shown in Dr. Sirén's *Buddhist Sculpture*, plate 393 A.

Makara heads are also to be found in the carvings on the great Buddhist monument at Barabudur, in Java, which date from the ninth century A.D.[2] They adorn the ends of the back of the throne on which the Buddha sits exactly as at Amaravati 700 years before. In addition, and this is more relevant to this discussion, there are *makara* heads at the ends of the arches that frame the Buddha figure in exactly the position that the *makara*-like creatures occur at Yün-kang. Admittedly the work at Barabudur is about 400 years later than that at Yün-kang, but the use of the *makara* as an ornament at the ends of the arch framing the figure of Buddha must have come to Java from India, and the motif must have been common and well known.

From the above it is evident that there was a strong religious tradition, so strong that it remained in force several hundred years, associating the *makara* with the throne of Buddha, that in such cases the *makaras* were portrayed facing outwards, that its position was on the level with the shoulder of the Buddha figure, whether attached to the supporting back of the throne or at the ends of the arch framing the figure. If we now return to the creature from the caves in Yün-kang, shown in fig. 1, we find that it has what were the constant characteristics of the *makara* in India, the scaly body, the mouth well furnished with teeth, the recurved upper lip, and feet like those of a crocodile. Its position with reference to the Buddha image is exactly where a *makara* might be expected, according to a tradition that lasted several hundred years. In these

[1] Fergusson, J., *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Second Edition, plates lxx, lxxi.

[2] Krom (Nicolaas Johannes), and T. van Erp, *Beschrijving van Barabudur*.

circumstances there can be little doubt but that the creature is the *makara*, that well-known fabulous monster of India.

If it be accepted that this creature, which so often decorated early Buddhist sculpture in Yün-kang in the fifth century A.D. is derived from the Indian *makara*, it is interesting to note that the *makara*, so far as I am aware, was unknown in the "Graeco-Buddhist" sculpture of Gandhara. Many authorities have held that the inspiration for the carvings at Yün-kang came across Central Asia from Gandhara. Whatever place gave birth to the inspiration of the Buddha figure, it is certain that the figure of the *makara* did not come from Gandhara but from India. The evidence available indicates South India to be the place of origin of this curious motif in early Buddhist sculpture in China.

The Ottoman Archives as a Source for the History of the Arab Lands

By BERNARD LEWIS

(PLATES VI–IX)

ONE of the classical difficulties of the student of the history of the Islamic Middle East, as contrasted with his colleagues in the European field, is the lack of archive material. While the western medievalist, for example, has at his disposal a mass of records, central and local, public and private, political, administrative, judicial, and ecclesiastical, the orientalist has to rely for the most part on literary and archæological sources. In many fields of history his findings are in consequence often vague and general; they are in the main limited to the public and external life of the communities and individuals he studies. Only the events and personalities important enough to achieve literary mention are known to him, and then only through the reflecting medium of literary sources. Even the great figures, with few exceptions, remain dim and formalized outlines, while for the life of the people he has to rely mainly on occasional hints and scraps of evidence. Large numbers of individual documents survive in isolation—some in the form of inscriptions, others quoted in the texts of the chronicles; but only for one period after the rise of Islam is any important body of original documents available—and the light they have shed on the period from which they derive has deepened the surrounding darkness. The Egyptian papyri of the early Islamic period have imposed a rewriting of much of the history of the early Caliphate, as recorded by the chroniclers and jurists. Yet even the papyri are not archives in the true sense of the word. They are fortuitous assemblages of documents, discovered by chance and distributed haphazard, with no cohesion other than that imposed on them by historians. Archives are compiled not for historical but for administrative purposes, and much of their value lies in their continuity and cohesion. When the institution for the use of which the archives were compiled ceases to exist, the archives themselves are neglected, scattered, and eventually destroyed. The many archive documents that survive in isolation certainly have a great historical value, but it can never be the same as that of a genuine record office preserved in the form and order in which it was originally used. The states of

medieval western Europe survived and developed into the states of modern Europe, and their archives, often still current, are preserved intact. The states of the medieval Near East, with one exception, were destroyed and passed away, and their archives, ceasing to serve any practical purpose, were dissipated and lost.

That one exception is the Ottoman Empire, and until the spread of European influence and administrative methods it is the Ottoman records alone that have survived intact to the present day. Intact is perhaps too strong a word. The disturbances, wars, and revolutions of the last years of the Empire and the early years of the republic inevitably had their effect. Many sets of documents were lost or destroyed, others disarranged or damaged. But the millions of documents that remain constitute one of the most precious sources for Near Eastern history during the last five hundred years.

For a long time the Ottoman archives, though known to exist, were not accessible to scholars, and even the history of Turkey itself was written by European and Turkish historians with almost complete disregard of this source. Turkish official historiographers were, of course, allowed access to the archives, and frequently published the full texts of documents in their chronicles. But these were usually public and political statements, and in any case hardly constitute an exploitation of archive material in the modern sense.

The "discovery" of the Ottoman archives dates from the period of the revolution of 1908, when an Ottoman Historical Society was formed, with the study and publication of archive documents as one of its stated objectives. An article in the first issue of the Society's journal by Abdürrahman Şeref, the official historiographer and president of the Society, surveyed the state of the archives, and proposed a plan of work.[1] During the years that followed a number of scholars published many selected documents in the journal of the Society and elsewhere. While the manner of publication often left much to be desired, the documents thus made available were of considerable importance, both intrinsically and as specimens of the treasures still untouched. At the same time a start was made on the vital task of preserving and cataloguing the records.

[1] *Ta'rīkh-i 'Osmānī Enjümeni Mejmū'asi*, 1911, pp. 9–19 and 65–9. See also P. Wittek, Les Archives de Turquie, *Byzantion*, xiii, 1938, pp. 691–9. In 1907–1911 E. Karácson, hitherto the only western scholar to carry out systematic research in the Ottoman Archives, worked on the Istanbul records and advised on their classification. He died in 1911 of blood-poisoning contracted during his work.

The war and post-war periods and the change of regime and capital brought a change for the worse, and a period of neglect culminated in the sale of 200 bales of finance records to a Bulgarian paper mill as waste paper. As a result of the ensuing scandal some of the material was recovered and, perhaps more important, the Turkish government began to take the problem of the archives seriously in hand. Since then, astonishing progress has been made. Many of the scattered depots in different old buildings in Istanbul have been assembled in central collections in fine new buildings, with proper care for their preservation and maintenance, and a good start made on their classification and cataloguing.[1] Although it will inevitably be many years before the work is completed it has already gone far enough to permit the exploitation of whole classes of material, and one catalogue, that of the Palace collection, is already in course of publication. Many more documents have been published and studied in recent years by Turkish scholars.

In addition to the central archives in Istanbul, a start has also been made on local archives all over the country. The Qāḍī in the old Ottoman administrative system was not only the judge but also the general administrator of his area. The records of the Qāḍīs' offices have been preserved in many provincial towns, and constitute an invaluable source for almost every aspect of the life of the community. These are now being collected in a number of regional centres, to serve as provincial archives. Cataloguing has begun and some documents have been published or studied.[2]

For 400 years the Arab lands were under varying degrees of Ottoman domination or suzerainty, and it is natural that a substantial proportion of the documents in the Ottoman archives should be concerned with their affairs. But for the most part Turkish scholars, who alone up to now have had access to these documents, were naturally chiefly interested in the history of Turkey proper, and paid only occasional attention to the Arab provinces.[3] The

[1] In 1936–7 Professor L. Fekete, of Budapest, was invited by the Turkish authorities to advise them on the new classification of the archives. See [L. Fekete] *Arşiv Meseleleri*. Translated from Hungarian into Turkish by Tayyip Gökbilgin, Istanbul, 1939.

[2] See, for example, the various writings of M. Çağatay Uluçay, based on the archives of Manisa. For Arab history the archives of Southern Turkish centres like Diyarbekir and Gaziantep should yield useful material. It is not impossible that similar local archives still exist in the Arab countries.

[3] But see Şinasi Altındağ, *Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Paşa Isyanı ve Mısır Meselesi*, Ankara, 1945, and Tayyip Gökbilgin, 1840 tan 1861'e kadar Cebel-i Lübnan Meselesi ve Dürziler, *Belleten*, x, 1946, pp. 641–703.

following notes, based on studies in the Istanbul archives in 1950, may give an idea of some of the material available.[1]

The collections most likely to be of value for the historian are as follows:—

(1) The Saray archives: A collection of records preserved in the Topkapi Sarayi. An alphabetic subject catalogue, prepared under the direction of Bay Tahsin Öz, was begun before the war, and two volumes appeared, going up to "Hançerli Beyzade".[2] The work was interrupted by the war, but has now been resumed by Bay M. Çağatay Uluçay, and further volumes may be expected. A glance at this catalogue will show the type of material preserved in the palace. Besides court documents, the collection includes correspondence with the provinces on matters concerning the Imperial household and the Imperial foundations.

(2) The Sublime Porte Records: These are the records of the office of the Grand Vizier and of the Dīvān-i Humāyūn; that is, for most purposes, of the Ottoman government. To them have been added many of the finance records previously separately preserved elsewhere.

For the early part of the Ottoman period the main source is the 263 volumes of the *Mühimme Defteri* (Defter of Public Affairs), running from 961/1553–4 to 1300/1882–3[3]; a day-by-day record of correspondence, containing the texts of outgoing communications of all kinds. The texts are in simple chronological order, without any classification whatever. For the first sixty volumes summaries have in recent years been prepared and an alphabetical subject index is in preparation for the volumes from 61 onwards. A large proportion of the letters is addressed to Ottoman officials and others in the Arab lands in Asia and Africa.[4]

In course of time a number of separate series were started dealing with matters formerly included in the *Mühimme Defteri*. From 1059 to 1155 (1649 to 1742–3) complaints from the provinces and the

[1] I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to the Director and staff of the Archives for their unfailing courtesy and co-operation.

[2] *Arşiv Kılavuzu*, Part I, Istanbul, 1938; Part II, 1940.

[3] Earlier volumes may yet come to light. An odd volume covering the years A.H. 951–2 was found recently in the Saray (cf. *Belleten*, v, 1941, p. 638). There are occasional gaps in the series.

[4] The first published facsimile from the *Mühimme Defteri* appears in Halil Inalcık, Osmanlı-Rus rekabetinin menşeı ve Don-Volga kanalı teşebbüsü (1569), *Belleten*, xii, 1948, pp. 349–402.

Aḥkām answering them are dealt with in the *Shikāyet Defterleri*. These are still purely chronological, but from 1155 to 1306 (1742–3 to 1888–9) are geographically subdivided in separate provincial series, known as *Aḥkām Defterleri*. The *Shikāyet* and *Aḥkām Defterleri* together number 530 volumes. The *Aḥkām* include the following series on the Arab lands :—

Shām	9 volumes	1155 to 1326	(1742–3 to 1908)
Ḥaleb	9 „	1155 to 1266	(1742–3 to 1849–50)
Diyārbekir . .	9 „	1155 to 1292	(1742–3 to 1875)
Jezā'ir and Raqqa .	25 „	1159 to 1292	(1746 to 1875)

A special secret *Mühimme* series on Egypt consisting of fifteen defters covers the years 1119 to 1333 (1707–8 to 1914–15).

Another series of direct interest for Arab history is the *Jizye Defterleri*, dealing with the poll-tax paid by non-Muslims, and coming from the Finance records. These, numbering 418 volumes and covering the years 958 to 1255 (1551 to 1839–1840), are subdivided by provinces.

Other series of defters of possible interest are :—

(1) *Düvel-i Ejnebīye Defterleri*.—Dealings with foreign states, chiefly consular and commercial—106 volumes, by states, 975 to 1332 (1567–8 to 1913–14).

(2) *Nāme-i Humāyūn Defterleri*.—Royal letters—1111 to 1313 (1699–1700 to 1895–6).

(3) *Muqtaẓā Defterleri*.—Rulings from the legal department on both internal and external matters—thirty-five volumes, 1284 to 1330 (1867–8 to 1911–2).

(4) *Kilise Defterleri*.—Non-Muslim places of worship, with deeds of foundation and detailed descriptions—seven volumes, 1285 to 1340 (1868–9 to 1921–2). For the period 1125 to 1285 (1713 to 1868–9) a list of references to the relevant documents in the *Mühimme Defterleri* is available.

In addition to these and other series of defters there is the vast mass of documents (*evrāq*), ranging from *Khaṭṭ-i Humāyūns* to odd notes and minutes. Only a very small proportion of these has as yet been catalogued or even examined. There are three *Taṣnīfs* (classifications), due to Ali Emiri, Mu'allim Cevdet, and Ibnülemin. The first is chronological and is arranged by reigns from 'Osmān to 'Abdülmejīd. It consists of sixty-one bundles. The second and third are by subjects, and contain thirty-four and twenty-eight

bundles respectively.[1] There are also classifications of *Khaṭṭ-i Humāyūns* from Muṣṭafā III to 1839, and of *Irādes* from 1839 to 1918. Since 1936 new *Taṣnīfs* are in progress, including one of documents of the *Tanẓīmāt* period, and another of the records from the Yildiz Palace, covering the reign of 'Abdülhamid II.

(3) The *Tapu Defterleri*, also known as *Defter-i Khāqānī*[2]: This contains cadastral surveys of the provinces of the Empire. It is, so far, the most readily accessible of the collections. It is fairly well classified and is now housed in the main archives buildings, together with the archives of the Sublime Porte. For each province of the Empire there is a set of defters, usually beginning with the period of the acquisition of the province or, in the case of the old provinces, with the middle of the fifteenth century. The latest defter is dated 1290/1873–4. The defters often begin with a *Qānūnnāme*—a codification of the fiscal law and custom of the province, in the conquered provinces usually a codification of the pre-Ottoman usage with such modifications as the Sultan's government thought fit to introduce. The Qānūnnāmes were practical documents, issued as guides to administrative usage, and quite distinct from the Holy Law of Islam as codified in the works of the jurists. Ottoman conservatism makes them a valuable source for the preceding periods. The Syrian Qānūnnāmes preserve much of Mamlūk usage, often with references to specific Mamlūk edicts. The Qānūnnāmes for Northern Mesopotamia and Eastern Anatolia offer unique evidence on the practice of the Aq-Qoyunlu, and

[1] The classifications, with tentative translations, are: Cevdet—*'Adlīye* (Justice); *'Askerīye* (Military); *Baḥrīye* (Naval); *Beledīye* (Municipal); *Dākhilīye* (Internal); *Darbkhāne* (Mint); *Evqāf*; *Eyālāt-i Mümtāze* (Privileged provinces—those under foreign or autonomous administration, as Egypt, Lebanon, and Cyprus); *Khārijīye* (Foreign); *Iqtiṣād* (Economics); *Ma'ārif* (Education); *Mālīye* (Finance); *Nafi'a* (Public Works); *Ṣiḥḥīye* (Health); *Saray* (Palace); *Tīmār*; *Ẓabṭīye* (Police). Ibnülemin—*'Adlīye* (Justice); *'Askerīye* (Military); *Baḥrīye* (Naval); *Dākhilīye* (Internal); *Meskūkāt* (Coins); *Evqāf*; *Khārijīye* (Foreign); *Ensāb* (Genealogies); *Khaṭṭ-i Humāyūn*; *Khil'at*; *Mālīye* (Finance); *Muḥarrerāt-i Khuṣūṣīye* (Special Correspondence); *Imtiyāzāt* (Privileges); *Mukhallefāt* (Legacies); *Müsted'iyāt* (Petitions); *Ma'ādin* (Mines); *Umūr-u Nāfi'a* (Public Works); *Ṣiḥḥīye* (Health); *Saray* (Palace); *Shikāyāt* (Complaints); *Tevjīhāt* (Appointments); *Tīmār ve Zi'āmet*.

[2] The first name is in current use. The office from which the registers come was known formerly as the *Defterkhāne*, and was situated in the At-Meydanı, opposite the Sultan Ahmed Mosque. Headed by the Defter-emīni, under the supreme authority of the Nishānji, it constituted a separate branch of the administration, alongside the Dīvān-i Humāyūn and the Finance office.

especially on the legislation of Uzun Ḥasan.[1] A few isolated Qānūnnāmes were published in the Journal of the Ottoman Historical Society and elsewhere,[2] but the proper evaluation of this type of material begins in 1945 with the publication by Professor Ömer Lutfi Barkan, of the Faculty of Economics in Istanbul, of a collection of 107 Qānūnnāmes from all parts of the Empire.[3] These, though only a part of the number existing, give an invaluable guide to this material and its contents.

The greater part of the Tapu Defterleri is to be found in the Archives in Istanbul, where there are 1,072 bound volumes, covering most of the provinces of the Empire. The collection is by no means complete, especially in the later period, from which most of the surviving defters seem to have been transferred to Ankara, where they are kept in the *Tapu ve Kadastro Müdürlüğü* and still used in the adjudication of land cases both in Turkey and in the succession states. These I was not permitted to consult. But enough remains in Istanbul to make possible a detailed picture of the Empire, as regards population, land-tenure, and revenue, for the fifteenth, sixteenth, and early seventeenth centuries. The record is naturally fuller for Anatolia and the Balkans than for the Arab provinces, farther from the capital and less subject to direct Ottoman rule. Only for Syria and Palestine is detailed material available. Iraq, where *Sālyāne*[4] and later indirect rule prevailed, is poorly covered, while Arabia, Egypt, and North Africa, under the rule of local autonomous regimes, are excluded altogether.[5]

[1] On this, see now W. Hinz, Das Steuerwesen Ostanatoliens im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, *Z.D.M.G.*, 100, 1950, pp. 177–201.

[2] For a list see Deny's article *Tīmār* in Encyclopædia of Islam. A number of Qānūnnāmes are examined in J. von Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna, 1815, 2 vols. (Egypt—I, pp. 101–143, Syria and Iraq—I, pp. 219–241).

[3] *XV ve XVI inci Asırlarda Osmanlı Imparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları* vol. i, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul, 1943. This volume contains Qānūnnāmes for Mosul, Kirkuk, Nehr-i Sherif, Aleppo, Tripoli, Jerusalem, Damascus, and Safed, and an extremely important Qānūnnāme for Egypt, dated 931/1524, from the Süleimaniye library in Istanbul.

[4] i.e. provinces where, instead of holding Khāṣṣ, the governor received a fixed yearly salary.

[5] Specimens from the Defters for Anatolia and the Balkans were published by Professor Ömer Lutfi Barkan in his articles Kulluklar ve Ortakcı Kullar (Turkish with French summaries), *Istanbul Üniversitesi Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, i, 1939, pp. 29–74, 198–245, 1–51. French summaries, pp. 14–44, 165–180, 297–321, and

The defters are of three main kinds.

(a) *Mufaṣṣal*.—These are by far the most interesting and the most valuable. They normally begin with the fermān ordering their compilation, followed by a Qānūnnāme, setting forth in detail the fiscal practice and regulations of the province. The earliest of these, usually drafted soon after the conquest of the province, is normally a codification of existing procedure. The later ones show the changes introduced by the Ottomans. Some of the defters also have introductions, tables of contents, and systematized summaries of the data they contain.

After the introductory matter comes the chief town of the province, by quarters (*Maḥalle*), with the name of each householder. Sometimes the quarters are sub-divided into streets (*Zuqāq*). Christians and Jews, and sometimes other elements (e.g. Mamlūk Jundīs, Kurds, and Turcomans) are indicated,[1] as are also persons exempt from taxation (*mu'āf*), viz., Imāms, Mu'adhdhins, Khaṭībs, Sherīfs, and the blind, mad, and disabled. Each household is shown as *Khāne* or *Müjerred*. The first indicates the household of a married man, constituting a fiscal unit.[2] The second denotes a bachelor not forming part of his father's Khāne and regarded as a separate fiscal entity. Monasteries are also listed with the names of their occupants. The record of the town ends with a statement of its taxes, tolls, and other duties, each item marked as Khāṣṣ of the Sultan, Khāṣṣ of the Governor, or Waqf, and of other Imperial and Governor's Khāṣṣ in the town in the form of gardens, orchards, and various plots of land (*erāzī*).

The remainder of the defter deals with the rest of the province by

Osmanlı Imparatorluğunda vakıflar ve temlikler, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii, 1942, pp. 279–386. The second volume of Kāmil al-Ghazzī's History of Aleppo (*Nahr adh-Dhahab fī Ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, Aleppo, A.H. 1342, ff. 3 vols.), appears to be based in part on the defters of the city.

[1] Thus, in Palestine there are Turcoman quarters in Gaza and Ramla, and Kurdish quarters in Gaza, Hebron, and Safed. Christians and Jews are also frequently sub-divided into their various communities (Orthodox, Coptic, Armenian, Latin, etc., and Sefardic, Ashkenazi, Oriental, Samaritan, etc.).

[2] Some idea of the size of a household in one city in modern times may be obtained from Ghazzī, who for each of the quarters of Aleppo gives the number of houses (*Buyūt*) and the number of persons. The average number of persons to the house, for the 107 quarters, is 8·3. A comparison of the data in the Mufaṣṣals on Christians and Jews with the corresponding sections of the *Jizye Defterleri*, where much of the same material is differently presented, should be illuminating in this and other respects.

districts (*Nāḥiye*).[1] Each Nāḥiye is divided up into villages, each with a list of householders, a statement of the tenure (Khāṣṣ of the Sultan, Khāṣṣ of the Governor, Zi'āmet, Tīmār, or Waqf), and a statement of taxes by headings, with totals. In Syria most villages are either *Dīmūs* or *Qasm*.[2] In the former the revenues are stated in money, in the latter in kind, with money equivalent. The system of classification varies from province to province, and sometimes in different defters of the same province. In some the basis of classification is geographical, with tenure as a sub-classification. In others the main classification is into Khāṣṣ, Tīmār, etc., with a geographical sub-classification in each group. It is interesting to note that in parallel defters of different dates the villages usually appear in different order within the Nāḥiye, indicating that a new defter involved a new recording commission with a different route instead of a simple adaption of an earlier defter. The Mufaṣṣal also included lists of tribes in the province, treated in the same way. The defters were renewed at frequent intervals, often five years, and offer therefore a detailed record of changes that have taken place.

In addition to the above, known as *Mufaṣṣal Taḥrīr Defteri*, there are Mufaṣṣals of Mulk and Waqf, containing detailed accounts of the holdings, their ownership and revenues. The Waqf defters give full lists of pious and private waqfs, with the text or summary of the foundation deed and a statement of revenues and expenditure. Many of the Syrian and Palestinian waqfs are of the Mamlūk period, and the Jerusalem waqf-registers even give details of some waqfs of Saladin, including those of his Khānqāh, his Medrese, and his hospital in the city. (See Plate IX.)

(*b*) *Ijmāl*.—The *Ijmāl Defteri* of a province is a summary of the Mufaṣṣal, omitting the names of the inhabitants and giving the taxes only in lump sums for each territorial unit. (See Plates VII and VIII.) It may cover all classes of property in the province, but is more frequently limited to one or two of them. There are thus Ijmāls of Khāṣṣ, Tīmār, Waqf, and Mulk. Where, as often happens, a Mufaṣṣal is missing, the corresponding Ijmāl becomes our major source of information. Anyhow, though the Ijmāls add

[1] The *Qaḍā*, which belonged to a different system of organization, rarely appears. It may possibly have coincided with the Nāḥiye.

[2] On these terms see A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon*, 1250–1900, London, 1939, pp. 47–8 and 67.

little to the Mufaṣṣals on which they are based, they are useful chiefly for two reasons :—

(1) When a Tīmār changes hands the Ijmāl sometimes records the date and circumstances of the transfer.

(2) They give some information, such as the total values of Khāṣṣ, Waqfs, and Tīmārs, in a more accessible form.

Both Mufaṣṣal and Ijmāl are usually drawn up for a Liwā (= Sanjaq). In the larger Liwās, like Aleppo and Damascus, however, they often cover only part of the Liwā, while on the other hand small Liwās like Jerusalem and Gaza are often joined in a single volume.

In all the Defters I have seen the revenues are stated in Aqche (Aspers).

(3) *Rūznāmche* and *Derdest.*—These are respectively journals of *berāts* relating to fiefs and rough, day-to-day records of incoming information. The main value of the latter lies in the records they sometimes include of administrative expenditure.

A word or two on the material form of the defters. They are long and narrow, up to about 2 feet in length, and often run to several hundred pages, unnumbered in most cases. They are mostly written in *Siyāqat*, a script usual in Ottoman finance documents. It served the double purpose of speed and secrecy, and still maintains some success in securing the second. The language is a kind of office jargon- a hotchpotch of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, in proportions varying from province to province. In the Arab lands as one would expect the proportion of Arabic is high.

Some defters are dated. Many more bear the name of the reigning Sultan. Others can be dated within a few years by internal evidence. The state of preservation is on the whole good, but many defters have sections missing, especially at the beginning. A few defters have been affected by damp and worms, but the great majority are in good condition. Even the damaged ones can in most cases be read.

The Ṭāpū defterleri have their gaps. Areas under indirect rule are excluded, and nothing is said about the farming of the revenues of crown lands. But enough has been said to show that for the Arab lands, as for the rest of the Ottoman Empire, the Ṭāpū Defterleri are a source of unique value. Economic and demographic development can be followed to an extent not equalled in the Middle East until very recent times, while administrative topography and to some

extent the administration itself can be traced in great detail. The value of the Qānūnnāmes for Mamluk history has already been touched upon. Much the same may be said of the defters themselves. The lists of Tīmār-holders and the enumeration of their tīmārs with dated transfers throw much light on the participation of former Mamluk officers in the Ottoman regime. The value of the defters of pious waqfs to the archæologist, and of private waqfs to the economic historian, will be obvious.

The Ottoman period of Arab history has hitherto been the most obscure and neglected. From the wealth of material in the Turkish archives it should in time become one of the best known.

Appendix

The following list contains all the Tapu Defters I was able to find on the Arab countries. For each area I have given the dated or datable defters in chronological order, followed by the undated defters in the ascending order of their catalogue numbers. Where, as often happens, two or more Liwās are bound together in one volume, I have given cross-references. Those relating to Tripoli and Palestine will be discussed more fully in my forthcoming monographs on these two areas.[1]

Iraq. Mosul.	*Defter Number.*	*Date.*		
(1)	195	946/1539–40	75 fols.	Mufassal of Liwā of Mosul, with Qānūnnāme. The defter begins with a list of functionaries in the Liwā—governor, governor's staff, Qāḍīs, etc., and contains the town of Mosul, followed by other towns, villages, and tribes. It ends with a list of Waqfs.
(2)	660	Murād III		Mufassal of Liwās of Mosul and Takrīt, including towns and tribes. Qānūnnāme.
Baghdad.				
(3)	386	Süleimān I	132 fols.	Mufassal of the Vilāyet of Baghdad, with a list of the Waqfs of the Holy Places in Ḥilla, Kāẓimain, Mashhad 'Alī, etc. With Qānūnnāme of Nehr-i Sherīf (ed. Barkan, op. cit., p. 231).

[1] Further material for Arab history will also be found in the defters of the border provinces of S. Turkey. 'Aintāb 8 defters, Adana 10, Urfa 3, 'Uzair 4, Diyārbekir 10.

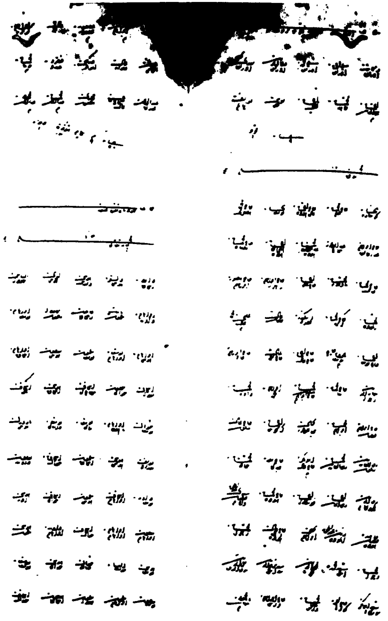
IRAQ. Baghdad.	Defter Number.	Date.		
(4)	1028	No date		Ijmāl of seven Sanjāqs in the Vilāyet of Baghdad, with Muqāṭa'a, some Khāṣṣ of Governor and some Waqf.
(5)	1049	n.d.	60 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of the Vilāyet of Baghdad. Brief and sketchy—perhaps a draft.
Basra.				
(6)	282	959/1551-2	174 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of Vilāyet of Basra. Town of Basra, with rest of province by Liwās and Nāḥiyes. With Qānūnnāme.
(7)	534	982/1574-5	21 fols.	Ijmāl of Khāṣṣ, Muqāṭa'a, Tīmār. With Qānūnnāme of the customs house of Basra, giving port and market regulations for imported goods.
(8)	1022	n.d.		Ijmāl. Muqāṭa'a and Khāṣṣ of Town and Vilāyet of Basra.
SYRIA.				
Aleppo.				
(9)	146	924/1518	484 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of Liwā of Aleppo. The beginning, containing part of the town and presumably also the Qānūnnāme, is missing.
(10)	93	926/1519-20	400 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of Liwā of Aleppo. The beginning, containing most of the town, is missing.
(11)	397	ca. 944/1537-8	411 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of Liwā of Aleppo.
(12)	271	957/1550		Ijmāl of Khāṣṣ of Governor, Zi'āmet and Tīmār of the Liwā of Aleppo.
(13)	270	959/1551-2	96 fols.	Ijmāl of Khāṣṣ in the Liwā of Aleppo.
(14)	280	959/1551-2	191 fols.	
(15)	125	961/1553-4	89 fols.	Ijmāl of Khāṣṣ of Governor, Zi'āmet and Tīmār of Liwā of Aleppo.
(16)	493	978/1570-1	511 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of Liwā of Aleppo. 22 Nāḥiyes with Qānūnnāme (ed. Barkan, op. cit., pp. 206-210).
(17)	610	992/1584	520 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of Liwā of Aleppo, with Qānūnnāme.
(18)	710	1019/1610-11		List of Tīmār holders taking part in Tabriz campaign, by provinces, including Aleppo and Damascus.
(19)	773	1051/1641-2	37 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of Khāṣṣ covering the Turcoman tribes of the Liwā of Aleppo, with the full enumeration of the tribes.
(20)	856	1108/1696-7	40 fols.	Ijmāl of Muqāṭa'a of Liwā of Aleppo.
(21)	963	1291/1874-5	29 fols.	Ijmāl of Waqf of Liwās of Aleppo, 'Aziz, Kilise, 'Aintāb, etc.

SYRIA. Aleppo.	*Defter Number.*	*Date.*		
(22)	391	Sûleimân I	175 fols.	Ijmâl of Khâṣṣ in villages and tribes of Liwâ of Aleppo.
(23)	422	Sûleimân I	137 fols.	Ijmâl of Khâṣṣ and Tîmâr of Liwâ of Aleppo, with full enumeration of Turcoman tribes.
(24)	454	Sûleiman I	432 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of Liwâ of Aleppo, with town by quarters and streets. With Qânûnnâme.
(25)	544	Selîm II	68 fols.	Ijmâl of Khâṣṣ of Governor, Zi'âmet and Muqâṭa'a of Liwâ of Aleppo.
(26)	1040	n.d.	529 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of 14 Nâḥiyes in the Liwâ of Aleppo.
'Azâz.				
(27)	181	943/1536–7	120 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of the Liwâ of 'Azâz, with Qânûnnâme.
(28)	506	978/1570–1		Mufaṣṣal of the Liwâ of 'Azâz, also called Liwâ-i Ekrâd.
Ma'arra.				
(29)	545	Selîm II	23 fols.	Ijmâl of Khâṣṣ and Tîmâr in the Liwâ of Ma'arra, of the Vilâyet of Aleppo.
	396	See below, No. 45		
	418	See below, No. 46		
Tripoli.				
(30)	68	925/1519	407 pages	Mufaṣṣal of Liwâ of Tripoli, with Qânûnnâme (cf. Barkan, op. cit., pp. 551–2).
(31)	548	ca. 926/1519–20	94 fols.	Ijmâl, in three parts. (*a*) Unclassified list of Tîmârs in Liwâ of Tripoli, followed by Khâṣṣ. (*b*) Ditto for Ḥamâ. (*c*) Waqfs for both provinces.
(32)	1017	before 932/1525–6		Mufaṣṣal of Liwâ of Tripoli. The beginning, with part of the town, is missing. (See Plate VII.)
(33)	380	before 932/1525–6		Ijmâl of Khâṣṣ, Tîmâr and Waqf of Liwâ of Tripoli—based on preceding. (See Plate VIII.)
(34)	372	after 932/1525–6	321 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of Liwâ of Tripoli. The beginning, with part of the Qânûnnâme, is missing.
(35)	421	after 937/1530–1	139 fols.	Ijmâl. Follows 380 with minor, dated changes in Tîmârs.
(36)	253	954/1547–8	71 fols.	Ijmâl of Khâṣṣ of Liwâ of Tripoli, distinguishing old and new Khâṣṣ. Badly wormed.
(37)	513	979/1591–2	181 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of town and parts of Liwâ of Tripoli, with Qânûnnâme (ed. Barkan, op. cit., pp. 211–16).

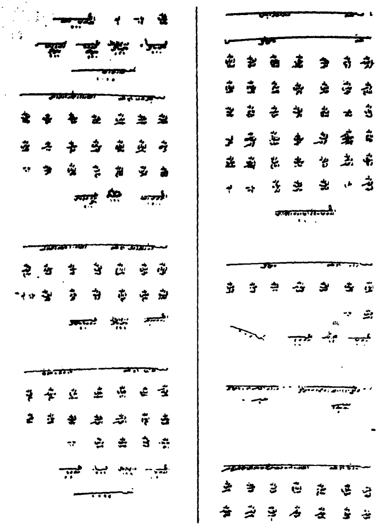
Syria. Tripoli.	Defter Number.	Date.		
(38)	767	1048/1638–9	10 fols.	Register of income and expenditure of Shāhin Pasha, the Beylerbey of Tripoli.
Ḥamā.				
	548	See above, No. 31		
(39)	233	951/1544–5		Mufaṣṣal of Waqf and Mulk of Liwās of Ḥomṣ and Ḥamā.
(40)	344	970/1562–3	71 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of Liwā of Ḥamā. Beginning missing. Contains part of Nāḥiye of Ḥamā, and Nāḥiyes of Ba'rin, Shaizar, and Maṣyāf.
(41)	340	970/1562–3		Ijmāl of Waqf and Mulk of Liwās of
(42)	336	970/1562–3	71 fols.	Ḥomṣ and Ḥamā.
(43)	519	980/1572–3	80 fols.	Ijmal of Waqf and Mulk—pious buildings in town and Liwā of Ḥamā.
(44)	520	980/1572–3	42 fols.	Ijmāl of Khāṣṣ and Timār of Liwā of Ḥamā.
(45)	396	Süleimān I	68 fols.	Ijmāl of Khāṣṣ and Timār of towns and Liwās of Ḥamā and Ḥomṣ, with Ma'arra and Kafr Ṭāb.
(46)	418	Süleimān I	295 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of Liwās of Ḥamā and Ḥomṣ, with Ma'arra. (Catalogued under Aleppo.) This defter is unusual in that the villages are listed in alphabetical order within each Nāḥiye.
(47)	564	Selim II	74 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of Liwā of Ḥamā, with Qānūnnāme. Badly wormed at beginning, with unknown number of pages missing at end. Contains (1) town of Ḥamā, (2) Khāṣṣ of Sultan for Nāḥiyes of Ḥamā and Ba'rin.
(48)	1026	n.d.		Ijmāl of Waqf and Mulk for Liwās of Ḥomṣ and Ḥamā.
(49)	1052	n.d.	152 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of Liwā of Ḥamā. The beginning, with part of the town of Ḥamā, is missing.
(50)	1068	n.d.	28 fols.	Ijmāl of Khāṣṣ of Governor, Zi'āmet and Timār of Liwā of Ḥamā.
Ḥomṣ.				
	233	See above, No. 39		
(51)	281	959/1551–2	126 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of Liwā of Ḥomṣ, with Qānūnnāme.
	340	See above, No. 42		
(52)	502	978/1570–1	134 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of Liwā of Ḥomṣ, with Qānūnnāme.
	396	See above, No. 45		
	418	See above, No. 46		

Syria. Ḥoms.	Defter Number.	Date.		
(53)	417	Süleimān I	20 fols.	Ijmāl of Khāṣṣ of Governor, Zi'āmet and Tīmār for the Nāḥiyes of Ḥomṣ, Manāṣif, and Ḥiṣn al-Akrād.
	1026	See above, No. 48		
Damascus.				
(54)	127	932/1525–6	101 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of Waqfs of the pious buildings of the Liwā of Damascus, with revenues, staff, and expenditure.
(55)	169	932–8/1525–32	129 fols.	Ijmāl of Khāṣṣ, Zi'āmet and Tīmār of the towns and Nāḥiyes of Damascus, Beirut, Sidon, Ba'albekk, and Ḥauran, in the Liwā of Damascus.
(56)	263	955/1548–9	261 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of the town and fifteen Nāḥiyes in Liwā of Damascus, in two parts. (a) Khāṣṣ of Sultan, (b) Khāṣṣ of Governor, Zi'āmet and Tīmār. With Qānūnnāme (ed. Barkan, op. cit., pp. 220–7).
(57)	275	958/1551–2		Mufaṣṣal of Khāṣṣ of Governor in Vilāyet of Damascus.
(58)	474	977/1569–70	387 fols.	Vol. I of Mufaṣṣal, with town of Damascus and 18 Nāḥiyes, divided as in No. 263. With Qānūnnāme.
(59)	491	977/1569–70		Mufaṣṣal of Qaẓā of Ḥaurān and Nāḥiye of Palmyra, each divided into (a) Khāṣṣ of Sultan, (b) Khāṣṣ of Governor, Zi'āmet and Tīmār, (c) Turcoman tribes.
(60)	602	990/1582	497 pages	Mufaṣṣal of Waqf and Mulk of Liwās of Damascus (with Sidon), Jerusalem, Gaza, Safed, Nabulus.
	710	See above, No. 18		
(61)	621	994/1585–6	22 fols.	Ijmāl of Income and Expenditure of the *Khazini* of Damascus.
(62)	964	1200/1785–6	14 fols.	Ijmāl of Waqf villages in Liwā of Damascus.
(63)	950	1222/1807–8	10 pages	Ijmāl of revenues of Sanjāqs of Damascus, Jerusalem, Nabulus, Gaza, and Lejjūn.
(64)	962	1289/1872–3	76 fols.	Ijmāl of revenues of villages and mezra'as of Liwā of Damascus.
(65)	393	Süleimān I	132 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of Waqf and Mulk of Damascus (Endowment deeds, terms, dates, etc.).
(66)	401	Süleimān I	387 fols.	Mufaṣṣal of Damascus, with 5 Nāḥiyes, Ba'albek with 14 Nāḥiyes, Beirūt with 4 Nāḥiyes, Sidon with 17 Nāḥiyes, and tribes. The biggest and most detailed of the Damascus defters.

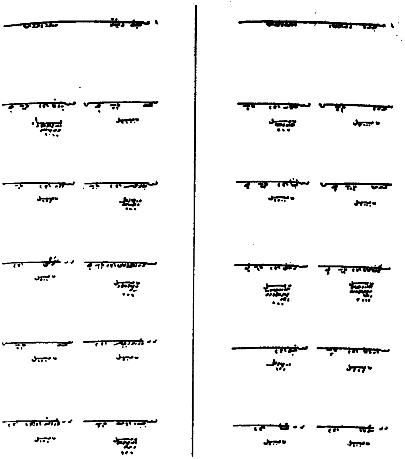
Syria, Damascus.	Defter Number.	Date.		
(67)	423	Süleimân I	107 fols.	Ijmâl of Khâss, Zi'âmet, Timâr and tribes of Liwâ of Damascus.
(68)	430	Süleimân I	292 fols.	Mufassal of some Nâhiyes in the Liwâ of Damascus. Beginning missing.
(69)	543	Selim II	294 fols.	Vol. II of Mufassal, containing 14 Nâhiyes in Liwâ of Damascus.
(70)	656	Murâd III	178 fols.	Mufassal of Waqf and Mulk in Liwâs of Damascus and Safed.
(71)	383	n.d.	323 fols.	Vol. II of Mufassal of Liwâ of Damascus.
(72)	1034	n.d.	137 fols.	Ijmâl of Khâss, Zi'âmet, Timâr of Liwâ of Damascus, with some reference to Ḥauran and Safed.
Palestine.				
Safed.				
(73)	427	ca. 932/1525-6	321 pages	Mufassal of Liwâs of Jerusalem, Safed, and Gaza.
(74)	132	932/1525-6	37 fols.	Ijmâl of Khâss, Zi'âmet, Timâr, Waqf, Mulk of Liwâ of Safed.
(75)	1038	? before 945/1538-9	299 pages	Mufassal of Liwâs of Safed and Nabulus.
(76)	1025	? ca. 945/1538-9	127 pages	Ijmâl of Khâss, Zi'âmet, Timâr, Muqâta'a of Liwâs of Safed and Nabulus, with Iqtâ' of Ṭarabay.
(77)	300	963/1555-6	385 pages	Mufassal of Liwâ of Safed, with Qânûnnâme (ed. Barkan, op. cit., pp. 229-230). (See Plate VI.)
(78)	1039	ca. 963/1555-6	63 pages	Ijmâl of Khâss of Governor and Timârs of Liwâ of Safed. Based on preceding.
(79)	312	965/1557-8	144 pages	Ijmâl of Waqf and Mulk of Liwâs of Safed, Nabulus, and Gaza.
(80)	522	980/1572-3	72 pages	Mufassal of Waqf and Mulk in Liwâs of Gaza, Jerusalem, Safed, Nabulus, and 'Ajlûn. Waqfs are classified by donors, with important notes. Includes waqfs of Saladin, Qait-Bay, etc. (See Plate IX).
	602	See above, No. 60		
(81)	559	Selim II	534 pages	Mufassal of Liwâ of Safed. Beginning with whole town and part of Nâhiye of Safed missing.
	656	See above, No. 70		
	1034	See above, No. 72		
Nabulus.				
	1038	See above, No. 75		
	1025	See above, No. 76		



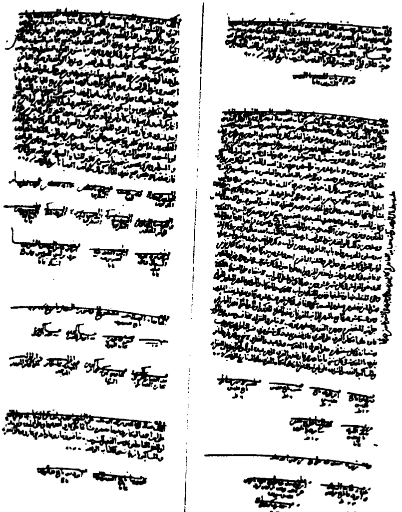
FROM MUFASSAL NO. 300: SOME QUARTERS OF SAFED



FROM MUFAṢṢAL NO. 1017; PART OF NĀḤIYE OF 'ULAIQR



FROM IJMĀL NO. 380; INCLUDING NĀḤIYE OF 'ULAIQR



FROM No. 522: SOME WAQFS OF JERUSALEM

Placename	Defter Number	Date		
Nabulus				
(82)	192	945/1538-9	76 pages	Mufassal of the Iqtā' of Tarabay in the Liwā of Nabulus.
(83)	258	955/1548-9	209 pages	Mufassal of the Liwā of Nabulus, with Qānūnnāme.
(84)	296	ca. 955/1548-9		Ijmāl of Khāss and Zi'āmet of Liwā of Nabulus. Based on preceding. With dated marginal addenda.
	312	See above, No. 79		
	522	See above, No. 80		
	602	See above, No. 60		
Jerusalem.				
	427	See above, No. 73		
(85)	131	ca. 932/1525-6	132 pages.	Ijmāl of Khāss, Zi'āmet, Timār, Waqf, Mulk of Liwās of Gaza and Jerusalem. With dated marginal addenda.
(86)	1015	ca. 945/1538-9	308 pages	Mufassal of Liwās of Gaza and Jerusalem.
(87)	289	961/1553-4	241 pages	Mufassal of Liwā of Jerusalem.
(88)	346	970/1562-3	41 pages	Ijmāl of Khāss, Zi'āmet, Timār of Liwā of Jerusalem. Khāss divided into old and new. Beginning missing.
(89)	342	970/1562-3	34 pages	Mufassal of Mulk and Waqf of Liwā of Jerusalem.
	522	See above, No. 80		
	602	See above, No. 60		
	950	See above, No. 63		
Gaza.				
	427	See above, No. 73		
	131	See above, No. 85		
	1015	See above, No. 86		
(90)	265	955/1548-9	301 pages	Mufassal of Liwā of Gaza.
(91)	304	964/1556-7	328 pages	Mufassal of Liwā of Gaza, with Qānūnnāme.
	312	See above, No. 79		
	522	See above, No. 80		
	602	See above, No. 60		
'Ajlūn.				
	522	See above, No. 80		
(92)	979		67 fols.	Mufassal of Nāhiyes and tribes of 'Ajlūn, with Qānūnnāme.

Two Tribal Law Cases (Documents)
(Wāḥidī Sultanate, South-West Arabia)

By R. B. SERJEANT

(Continued)

2

The Dispute over the Runaway Wife

The general procedure in this case is very similar to that of the aforegoing, but here we have the decision of the tribal muḳaddam (pl. maḳādimah) or headman. Bin 'Awzar's solution of the problem is, of course, very different from a legal decision in a European court to-day, but our methods would probably fail where decisions such as this are effective in obtaining justice. The two parties are constrained to produce other individuals to give evidence to clear or convict them, on an oath which, if false, they firmly believe will swiftly bring upon them the direst consequences.[1] Bin 'Awzar, however, envisages a possibility that neither party will be able to produce suitable evidence, and should this happen, he has instructed them to refer back the case to him.

It is clear from this case that the plaintiff is not acting from a sense of outraged sentiment, but for economic reasons, for dowries are high in Wāḥidī territory. Amongst the ra'īyah, dowries of 1,300 Maria Theresa dollars have even been known, but perhaps their dowries are higher than those of tribal women. In Ḥadramawt the peasant-cultivator pays a dowry of 60 to 100 riyals for a virgin bride, because she is a useful economic asset, working in the fields and house, but the mashā'ikh only pay about 35 riyals for a virgin shaikhah, and even the 'Alawī saiyids have a standard 40 riyals for a virgin bride, though by arrangement between the two families it

[1] Landberg has described how oaths are taken at the tomb of a saint: "On se range en cercle autour du coffin (tâbût), ou le simple tombeau (ḳabr), s'il n'y a pas de tâbût. Si le masdjid (mosque) ou la ḳubbah (domed tomb) sont petits, on s'aligne devant la porte. Lorsqu' il y a plusieurs personnes appelées à prêter serment, on commence d'abord par une marche autour du sanctuaire, en se plaçant deux à deux, les uns après les autres. On chante des marādjiz. Leur arrivée est signalée par des salves de fusil . . . Quelque saiyid ou shaikh est toujours présent à ces cérémonies pour empêcher que le sang coule, car l'excitation est toujours grande. Ce n'est pourtant qu' une partie remise; hors du territoire du walī la vengeance cherche sa victime jusqu'à ce qu' elle la frappe. Cette pratique de se purger d'une accusation moyennant le serment est la ḳasâmah des anciens Arabes (*Arabica V*, op. cit., pp. 141–2).

may be more. The reason stated for the strange practice of the upper classes in paying less for their brides than peasants, is that their women do far less work than a peasant woman, or even none at all.

(٤)

حضروا عندى فى مَحْكَمَة مَيْفَعَه سالِم بن حُسَيْن لَشْرَفْ با عَوْظَه وعلى بن سالم با تُرَاب دُمَيْدِم با عوظه . وقدّموا محبوسين بيد قايم ميفعه محمّد بن سعيد الواحدى لبعضهم البعض فى نَقْد وحَقّ عند القبيله هَلْ حَمَدْ بِنْ ذِيَيْب على ما فى سوالفهم وقواعدهم وذالك فى حُرْمة سالم بن حسين با عوظه لَشْرَفْ ، وغيره نهب الغنم والرّاحله ؛ وَأُجِيب لهم قايم ميفعه ، حُكّام الّذى اختارهم من اهل با عوظه .

(٥)

(نقل) دَعْوَى سالم بن حسين

بَـاْللّه وعندك يا بن عَوْزَر إنّها سارت حُرْمَتى عند ابوها وإنّى تبعتها بيومها وطرحت عَدَلى فى ما تزتقر فيه حرمتى فى سَوَاس القبيله . وإنّه غلب با تُراب من عَدَلى ولا سَرّح حرمتى . وعِنّى وتَعبنى ؛ ويا ما نهبته على با تراب ، وهو مَقْفِى ، لا يَصيبُنى بقافِى على ما فى رَزعة هل با عوظه .

(٦)

(نقل) تَقْوَى على بن سالم با تُراب

تَقْوَاىَ يا بن عَـوْزَر إنّ عارِى جَـاتْنى بهـا هَدّه وتقْصُور وإنّه جانى بن لشرف وجلس لى ، ووقفت له بحرمته ويُسلّم ما عنده من سَلَب الحرمه الّذى تزتقر فيه الحرمه فى قواعد القبيله ، وإنّه منع يسلّم . وقدنى عند الله وعندك يا مُنْصف الحقّ .

(٧)

(نقل) حكم بن عَوْزَر با عوظه

وجب فصـل بين بن لَشْرَف واهـل با تُراب . وجبت شـاهدَيْن على بن لشرف ، عَـدْلَيْن لا خُـصْمَا ولا تُـهْمَا ، يُمَرَّضون على قائم ميفمه ، يشهدون لله وبين إيدات الله ، شَهاده جازِمه لازمه ، أن سـالم بن حسين طرح عَدَل لبـا تَراب فى حرمته فى ما تزتقر فيه الحرمـه ، والعَدَلى غريم ، وإنّ با تَراب قفا ولا للحرمـه سلب باقى عنـد بن لشرف قارّ . ولا بلَغ بن لشرف بالشّهود صـاب . على ما فى سَوَاس القبيله للحرمه شقَيْه كلّ يوم مِكْيالَيْن ونصّ حبّ ؛ وما شلّه على المقفِى ما فيه قاف . وإن لَبّب بالشّهود بن حسين لَشْرَف وجب على اهل با تَراب

خَمْسه حَلّافَه حَشّامه، أوْلهم دُمَيّدِم وتاليهم لَقْوَر، على با
لَهْمَان، يحلفون بالله الرّحمان الرّحيم، مالى السّما بر َحمته،
وراسك يا با لَهْمَان، يمين مَطْفِيَه النّيَار ومُخْلِيَه الدّيار، قاطعت
الثّرَا والثّرِيَه — لا طلّع لنا عَدَلِى غَرِيم فى ما تزدقر فيه حرمة
بن حسين لشرف، وإنّ عنده من سَلَبْها لا حَدّ ما هُوه حدّ.
ولا حلفوا خَرَاجوا، وإن لَغِبوا كلّهم مَرَدُّم عنـدى. هاذا ما
حكم به العـاقل محمّد بن سَعيد بن عَوْزَر با عوظـه. والله يعلم
بالصّوَاب.

(4) *A Document of Procedure*

Sālim bin Ḥusain Lashraf Bā 'Awḍah (1), and 'Alī bin Sālim Bā Turāb Dumaidim Bā 'Awḍah attended the court of Maifa'ah before me (2). They delivered over hostages into the hands of the qaim of Maifa'ah, Muḥammad bin Sa'īd al-Wāḥidī, as a guarantee of one (tribe) to the other, in the (matter of) the scrutiny (3) of the case, and the setting forth of claims (in the customary way of) the tribe of the Ahl Ḥamad bin Dhiyaib (4), according to their precedents (5) and laws. This (action took place) in (the case of) the wife of Sālim bin Ḥusain Bā 'Awḍah Lashraf and, over and above that, the theft of the sheep and the she-camel (6). I, the qaim of Maifa'ah bring (7) them the judges whom I choose from the Āl Bā 'Awḍah.

(5) *A Plaint*

Copy of the Plaint of Sālim bin Ḥusain :—

(I bring a plaint) before (8) God, and before you, oh Bin 'Awzar (9), that my wife ran away to her father's (house), and that I followed her at once, and deposited my pledge (10) for that on account of which my wife is with-held, according to the procedure of the tribe, but Bā Turāb refused any pledge, and did not produce my wife. So help me, and trouble me (11)! What I stole from Bā Turāb

when he was refusing (12), does not cause me to incur any liability for a fine (13), according to that which (comes) within the custom of the Ahl Bā 'Awḍah.

(6) *A Defence*

Copy of the Defence of 'Alī bin Sālim Bā Turāb :—

My defence, oh Bin 'Awzar, is that my "honour" (14) came to me, being beaten, and not having received in full (the clothes and jewellery due to her (15)), and that Bin Lashraf came to me and sat in my house, and I agreed to return (16) him his wife if he would deliver (to her) the woman's clothing and jewellery he still owes her, (and) on account of which the woman is with-held, in accordance with the laws of the tribe ; but he refused to pay, and I am (therefore) before God, and before thee, oh (thou who) givest impartial justice (17).

(7) *A Judgment*

Copy of the Decision of Bin 'Awzar Bā 'Awḍah :—

A decision (in accordance with the circumstances (18)) between Bin Lashraf and the Ahl Bā Turāb is necessary. I have decided that two witnesses for Bin Lashraf, honourable persons, neither parties in opposition (to the other family) nor interested persons, should be produced to the qaim of Maifa'ah, to testify to God, and before the hands of God (19), an absolute and irrevocable testimony, that Sālim bin Ḥusain deposited a pledge for Bā Turāb, in respect of his wife, on account of that for which his wife is with-held, the pledge-holder being responsible (20) ; but that Bā Turāb refused, and that no clothing and jewellery due to the woman remain outstanding with Bin Lashraf. If Bin Lashraf produces the witnesses, according to the usages of the tribe, he will obtain damages for his wife, for each day (21) two measures (22) and a half of grain ; and for that which he took from the person refusing (23) he shall pay no fine.

If Bin Ḥusain Lashraf fails (to produce) witnesses, the Ahl Bā Turāb must (produce) five persons, each individual swearing a single oath (24) by (the saint) Bā Laḥmān (25), the first of whom shall be Dumaidim (26) and the second Laḳwar, swearing by God the Merciful the Compassionate who fills the Heavens with his mercy (27), and your head, oh Bā Laḥmān, an oath extinguishing fires, emptying houses, cutting off wealth and fortune (28), (that) he did not produce a responsible pledge-holder for us, in the matter of that on account of

which the wife of Bin Ḥusain Lashraf is with-held, and that he (still) owes of her clothing and jewellery the following separately detailed items (29). If they swear, they are acquitted. If all fail (30) they should refer (the case) to me.

This is the decision which the headman Muḥammad bin Sa'īd bin 'Awzar Bā 'Awḍah gave. And God knows what is correct.

Notes

(1) Note the spelling 'Awḍah or 'Awẓah.

(2) I.e. Muḥ. b. Sa'īd.

(3) I was told that naḳd al-kalām meant scrutiny of the case to see whether it was a sharī'ah or 'ādah case, but I cannot think that was the intention here.

(4) One of the three sub-tribes of the Bā 'Awḍah, the Hal Yamanah, the Āl Biḥārah, and the Hal Dhiyaib. Landberg, *Arabica V*, op. cit., p. 231, names them the Āl Ḥusain b. 'Umar, the Āl 'Alī bin 'Umar, and the Hal Dhiyaib b. 'Umar. They are doubtless the same.

(5) The term sawālif seems to be of general use amongst Arab tribes, and is even found in the Sudan amongst the Beja (J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan* (London, 1949), p. 180, footnote). The phrase above might also be rendered, "according to ancient custom and law."

(6) I.e. the theft of these animals by Lashraf from Bā Turāb as a sort of forcible compensation when the latter withheld Lashraf's wife. Lashraf, even if he had only paid over part of the agreed dowry, was nevertheless being deprived of services for which payment had been made.

(7) Note the change to the present tense, a not infrequent occurrence in narrative.

(8) As in the other plaint bi-'llāh is used, whereas in other places 'ind (at) is used. It might be better here to translate the phrase as "by God".

(9) Bin 'Awzar is the muḳaddam (chief) of the Ba 'Awḍah, a stoutish man, light skinned, for a Wāḥidī tribesman.

(10) This pledge may be placed in the hands of any responsible person. Lashraf deposits a pledge for the unpaid portion of the dowry with a third party. He does not, of course, place it in the hands of his father-in-law, in the hope that the latter would return his wife.

(11) I.e. "to produce witnesses", as in the previous set of documents.

(12) I.e. to return Bin Lashraf's wife. The sense is clear though the word is difficult.

(13) The term employed, ḳāfī, was explained to me as being the responsibility to return a stolen camel (and here, no doubt, the sheep also), and to pay a fine of five ḳurūsh (dollars) in addition. See note 12 to document 1.

(14) The term which has been translated as "honour" is actually the word 'ār, which is equivalent to the word 'aib, a well-known term, which might perhaps be rendered as "impugnment of personal or tribal honour". It is used here as a circumlocution for "my daughter", as the tribesman dislikes reference to a female relative in the presence of others. It is, in fact, a term used to mean any female relative, because one's honour can be impugned in them. C. von Landberg, *Ḥadramoût* (Leiden, 1901), p. 173, gives the term ma'ūrah from the same root, as "la femme parce qu'elle est le 'ār de l'homme, la chose qu'il doit défendre Le djār = rabī' ou nazīl est aussi mon 'ār", etc.

It is possible that a tribesman only cares about the sexual conduct *of his womenfolk insofar as it reflects upon his own honour*, though any tribesman here would impress on one, if questioned, the extreme measures he would take in the case of any sexual misdemeanour on the part of his womenfolk. In Daw'an, however, I was informed of a type of tribal custom where, if a tribesman finds his wife in *flagrante delicto* with another, he demands payment with damages, to divorce the woman, who is then married by the adulterer. This is known as Irṭibāṭ, and is mentioned by 'Alī bin Aḥmad bin Sa'īd Bā Ṣabrain in his Djumal min al-Muhimmāt al-Dīnīyah (written 1294 H.), a copy of which is described in *BSOAS*. (1951), op. cit. A Wāḥidī Sultan with a well-deserved reputation for gallantry, whispered to me that the sister of one of the individuals whose name figures in this collection had a reputation not free from reproach. I find it difficult, however, to believe that Wāḥidī tribeswomen can indulge in secret affairs of the heart, owing to the virtual impossibility of concealment. Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, v, 14, quotes Ibn 'Abbās as saying of the Arabs of the Djāhilīya, "They used to forbid (ḥaram) such adultery (zinā) as appeared, but to allow (istaḥall) what was hidden, saying, 'concerning that which appears, it is disgrace (lu'm),

but as for what is hidden, that does not matter.'" This reveals the essence of the tribesman's attitude to the subject.

In this connection, the gist of a conversation I had with the new Sultan Nāṣir may be quoted. The women of the sultans never leave the house, except perhaps two or three times in the year, for a funeral, feast, etc., when they may visit another house in 'Azzān.

A woman is then accompanied by her husband, leading the way, the woman following at a little distance. If the Sultan did not accompany his wife, the Bedouin meeting her, might cut off an ear or a lock of hair as an insult ('ār) to the Sultans. Their women do not laugh or talk much in the village of 'Azzān itself lest they be heard by Bedouin, who would say such conduct was unseemly. Should the Sultan's wife go to the window to look out on account of some noise in the street, he would reprimand her sharply and ask why she had done so.

Sultans usually, it seems, marry tribeswomen. Sultan Nāṣir himself was betrothed to a girl of the Āl Liswad, near Ḥabbān, and I was present at the betrothal visit and feast. Sultans can, of course, marry from all sections of the population except the Saiyids. In 'Azzān, the 'Askar al-Ṣulṭān (Soldiers of the Sultan), now mostly merchants owning a little land (ṭīn), and no longer regarded as tribesmen, seem to allow their women to come and go more freely than the Sultans. The 'abīd women move at their liberty, unveiled. In the tall dārs here, women live on the floor below the roof, and on the roof itself during the cooler portions of the day. Visiting a mashā'ikh house in Ruḍūm, our host preceded us upstairs shouting "ṭarīḳ" as he went, to avert the women, as is common practice in South Arabia. In general, women of noble blood are much less restricted in Tarīm and Saiwūn than in Wāḥidī country, but wives of the Shibām merchants seem more closely confined, like women of the Wāḥidī towns.

(15) Lit. "shortage", but it refers to what is known in Wāḥidī territory and elsewhere as ḳashsh (see Landberg, *Gl. Dath.*), i.e. appurtenances of a woman, such as jewellery, clothing, and cosmetics, kept in a wooden box roughly painted in traditional style. These are agreed upon in the marriage settlement, but actually delivered later, or at least the full amount is usually delivered later. In Wāḥidī houses the woman, i.e. wife of the owner, has a little room of her own (khalwah), sometimes used for more honoured

guests who may wish a little privacy, or where a few friends are entertained when the main reception room is not used. The woman is not, of course, present on these occasions. In this room she keeps her silver ornaments in the wooden box, and the walls are hung with a great variety of household gear, all this known as shakkah; there are basket containers of all sorts and sizes, gaily coloured palm-fibre trays (tafālah) for rice, etc., cloth or food stored in baskets, wooden bowls, incense burners, the cosmetic-pots, often old powder-horns of metal, or beaded glass bottles like African work, leather pillows, Japanese enamelled plates, and innumerable odds and ends, nearly all hung on the walls. The floor is covered with matting and the whole, when new, is pleasing.

(16) The sense of the context is clear, but the verb wakkaf is a little difficult. The reading is, no doubt, correct, as the texts were checked several times. One might otherwise have expected waffakt, but perhaps, by transposition, this dialect gives wakkaf the sense of waffak.

(17) Bin 'Awzar is addressed here.

(18) This is how the term faṣl (lit. *separation*) was explained. It was also explained by the term ḥukm, which appears in the title of this document, but cf. vocabulary to the texts.

(19) This should not, I think, be regarded as an anthropomorphic phrase, but merely as Arabic idiom.

(20) Presumably to pay over the pledge, if required. Vide supra.

(21) I.e. for each day that his wife has been withheld by her father, the latter paying over the damages. Conversely, a woman who has fled to her people cannot re-marry or claim support from her husband (Landberg, *Hadramoût*, 163).

(22) I assume that a mikyāl is the same as a kailah. Wāḥidī cubic measures are as follows :—

2 kailahs (pl. akyāl)	1 mudd
2 mudds	1 mizarah (maizarah)
2 maizarahs	1 ṣā'
2 ṣā'	1 dhahab (pl. dhihāb)

According to Landberg, *Arabica V*, op. cit., p. 292, the dhahab is equal to eight Aden bushels. My informants said it was equivalent to 12 muṣrās or 2 kahāwils.

(23) He must, of course, return the stolen animals.

(24) One individual ḥallāfah or oath-giver might take five separate

oaths, but five ḥallāfah ḥattāmahs will only take a single oath each, this, no doubt, being regarded as a more stringent oath than the former type. It is necessary to insert ḥattāmah to specify that five different persons shall take the oath.

(25) Bā Lahmān is the walī (saint) at Djōl al-Shaikh. The present manṣab there is Shaikh 'Alī b. Ḳāsim b. 'Abd al-Mānī', the latter being the family name of the Mashā'ikh there. Cf. Landberg, *Arabica V*, op. cit., p. 172, where it is noted that the manṣab of that time was a mubashshi', i.e. one able to perform trial by ordeal. For bish'ah see also 'Ārif al-'Ārif, *al-Ḳaḍā' bain al-Badw* (Jerusalem, 1933), p. 95, and Landberg, *Gl. Dath.* The 'Abd al-Mānī' have "spiritual influence" over the Bā 'Awḍah. Landberg's visit to Djōl al-Shaikh was remembered. The shaikh asked him for 200 riyāls as a gift for having entertained him.

(26) Dumaidim is the father of Bā Turāb, but I have not recorded who Laḳwar is, perhaps he may be the uncle of Bā Turāb.

(27) Raḥmah, which has also the sense of "rain". In Ḥaḍramawt it is said: "Ṣulṭān Ḥaḍramawt al-raḥmah," i.e. "The sultan of Ḥaḍramawt is Rain".

(28) Tharīyah, here translated as "fortune", was explained to me as meaning "inheritance". It seems to me that the phrase is really a jingle, but perhaps the word dhurrīyah offspring is also in the minds of the speakers. For types of oaths in North Arabia, see "'Ārif al-'Ārif", op. cit., pp. 72 ff.

(29) Lit. "to the limit of what is a limit".

(30) I.e. if neither party is able to produce the required number of witnesses.

SUMMARY

This case does not seem to me to be inconsistent with sharī'ah law, while in two important points it agrees exactly with principles enunciated in the fourteenth century *Aḥkām al-Man'ah* (cf. supra) which tends to bear out the contention of the author of that work, namely that Man'ah is not inconsistent with sharī'ah but an extension of it. On fol. 72*b* the author says that the plaintiff in all the Man'ah laws has the onus of the proof, and on him who denies the charge is the necessity for taking the oath to this effect. The Aḥkām al-Man'ah also states (fol. 57*b*) that "whosoever takes away his (relative-in-law's) wife from the house of his relative-in-law (ṣihr) without cause, and without fault on the part of the husband, has done wrong, and

must pay restitution (niṣfah) to the extent of a [illegible] worth ten dirhams". Fines prescribed in special cases follow. Comparison may be made also with the section on Ḳasāmah in Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ (trans. O. Houdas (Paris, 1914), iv, 414.

Appendix

The Appointment of a Manṣab of the Mashā'ikh

The manṣab in Southern Arabia is the ruler of the sacred enclaves known as Ḥawṭah, independent entities owing obedience to no temporal overlord. The Ḥawṭah is a centre for the tribes, neutral territory upon which they can meet to trade or settle disputes.[1] The manṣab is naturally a person of great importance in the country, and acts as impartial mediator between warring tribes. In turn, the tribes have some say in the election of a manṣab of Mashā'ikh, in the Wāḥidī area, but among the Sādah in Ḥaḍramawt the manṣabate seems usually to be hereditary. The notes upon which this appendix is based were taken from the Manṣab of Ṣa'īd himself, Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Muḥammad Bā Ḳādir, of the Bā Ḳādir Mashā'ikh, descended from Ḳādir bin 'Abdullāh, who is buried at Ṣa'īd.

When a manṣab dies, a ḥawīk (khādim, servant) or ṣabī (of the non-Arab but Arabic-speaking submerged race known in this part of South Arabia as Ṣubyān) is sent with a note to all districts to inform the people. The ḳabā'il (tribes), ra'āyā (peasants and craftsmen, etc.), sultans, and ṣubyān collect at the village of the deceased. They recite the Koran over his grave, and are entertained to a feast known as walimat al naḳaḍ,[2] the expenses of which are borne by the brother or son of the late manṣab.

The chiefs of the land (ru'asā 'l-Arḍ) collect and select a new manṣab, that is to say the principal persons and the representatives of the various classes. The ra'āyā have no real head of their class, but they elect (istankhabū) one. Notables of all sections then, including the Mashā'ikh, collect in a circle in the open. All must consent to the election. The dawlah (sultans) are said to be present only for consultation, as the election is a matter for the people of the district, but I was informed that Sultan Ṣāliḥ bin Muḥsin of 'Azzān

[1] For the Ḥawṭah and the Ḥabaṭ, material from Landberg has been utilized in articles in the Encyl. of Islam. These might be consulted. Ṣa'īd is a Ḥabaṭ.

[2] naḳaḍ *to go away* (according to my informants). Gl. Dath. gives it the sense of *to annul, untie*.

was a supporter (ḥāmil) at the election of the Shaikh of Al-Rawḍah. I am not sure whether potential manṣabs would be present at the election, but I think they can hardly be present at the preliminary discussions.

Among the Bin 'Abd al-Māni', there are three branches (shu'ūb). and the manṣabate passes from one branch to another in rotation. The other Mashā'ikh have the office of manṣab confined to one house (dār) only.[1]

When the manṣab has been elected, one of the manṣab's own fakhidhah (section) walks round the assembled circle several times, carrying a rosary, and then throws it over the head of the chosen person, saying: "This is our father" (Hādhā abū-nā). All present inform the newly elected shaikh that they wish him to be their manṣab. The tribesmen like a manṣab to be generous with the funds at his disposal, but for his functions, clearly he must be endowed with other qualities also.

After this, all go and visit the walī (saint) whose descendant the manṣab is, and the manṣab enters the ḳubbah (domed tomb) with all the people. They touch the ḳafaṣ (wooden or adobe ark-shaped canopy over the tomb), and go round the shawāhid (either the four corner-posts of the canopy, or the projecting upright stones on top of the tomb),[2] beat drums, and sing *mūkhidhs* (panegyrics of the saint), a sort of chant. From here all proceed to the manṣab's house and entertainment (ḍiyāfah) is prepared for them. They feast, and each individual gives the manṣab a present, every man according to his means (kullain bi-ḳadaruh), to help to defray the expenses of the occasion.

When he is appointed, conditions are made with a manṣab. Shaikh 'Abdullāh Bā Ḳādir showed me the agreement made at his own election, but I did not find it of sufficient interest to transcribe and examine in the limited time at my disposal. I did note its principal terms. The manṣab entertains all who come. He judges between the tribes and the ra'āyā. According to usual practice in South Arabia, the tribes must help the manṣab against a wrong-

[1] For the Mashā'ikh of the Wāḥidī area, see Landberg, *Arabica V*, op. cit., pp. 189 ff. The Mashā'ikh of Ṣa'īd, Djōl al-Shaikh, al-Ḥawṭah, and Al-Rawḍah, are all descended from a common ancestor, and they claim descent from 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī.

[2] For some notes and sketches of the shapes of tombs, see my *The Cemeteries of Tarīm* (Muséon, (Louvain, 1949)).

deer or pay a fine. The main part of the agreement was largely taken up with a list of fines for offences by tribesmen (ḳabā'il) against miskīns (peasants). If, for example, the ḳabīlī should steal an ox, he must return the ox and a sum equivalent to its value, half (nāṣifah) to the manṣab, and half to the robbed person (manhūb). If a ḳabīlī commits a misdemeanour, the usual procedure is to interdict him from the sūḳ (market), which in the case of Ḥawṭat al-Faḳīh 'Alī is an important sanctuary. The economic insufficiency of the tribesman is thus apparent, as he must have recourse to the market, and this is a powerful weapon in the hands of a manṣab.

Glossary to the Text

نشيم dimin. of نشم *a sort of bird of the mountains.*

شد فكلام ثقة *scrutiny of a case.* Gl. Dath., ثقة *avoir du jugement.* Lane, "suitableness of a judgment, and of what involves or implies a judgment."

حق *Setting forth of claims.*

برصا *At once, quickly.*

ذرز *infra* اذرر *to be held firm, withheld.* Cf. Gl. Dath., for allied stems.

سرّح *Bring forth, produce.* Cf. Gl. Dath.

نبّ Note this type of Imperative common in Ḥadramawt, etc.

مقفي Part. Act. Stem IV of قفا, u. Note the vowel of the preformative and compare مقفة *infra.* Gl. Dath. اقفى *tourner le dos, s'en aller, partir.* Thence it must mean *to refuse.* Cf. قفا *supra.*

قفي Gl. Dath., gives قفا as *injurier,* and قبّ *injure,* and it may be from this sense that قفى is derived. It means here *a fine for the theft of an animal, paid as compensation to the owner.*

دربة *Custom.* Cf. درّم *an arbitrator* according to customary law. Cf. Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* (Cairo, 1356 H.), i, 167, where women are described as العار الاكبر.

حرم *Female relative,* explained in notes to translation.

ضب *A beating.* Cf. Gl. Dath.

تقصير Verbal N. Stem II, as frequently in dialect. One says, فلان قصر في فلان *A. has not fulfilled his duty by B.* Here it means *not having received the ḳashsh owed her.*

دش See notes to translation.

حلي Usually *arms*, but here *women's appurtenances*, i.e. clothing, jewellery, ornaments, cosmetics. Syn. ضن. For both words see Gl. Dath.

فصل Syn. حكم, *sentence, judgment*. Cf. Kor. LXXXVI. 13: "distinguishing between what is true and what is false."

عدل *A just person*, as in Class.

فنم pl. فنتا *interested persons*. Cf. *supra*.

فز *Outstanding*.

طلب i.e. اطلب.

شنيه *Compensation for injury, damages*. Gl. Dath, *gages*.

تب *To fail*. Gl. Dath., *être fatigué*.

حلافه Lane, *swearing, that swears much or often*.

حثاب Explained in notes to translation.

ثاني *Second*. Cf. Gl. Dath.

قزر i.e. الأزر *The obstinate*.

متقني Part. Act. أتقنى.

زرا Class. زراد; *wealth*.

زيه Explained as *inheritance*. See notes to translation.

خراجوا i.e. خرجوا, the alif indicating a stressed penultimate syllable only, an error of orthography. *To emerge from a case, to be acquitted*, etc. This verb so used, is a technical term of tribal law, used also in other stems. Various forms of this root appear in several documents in my collection.

Dutch Travellers in Arabia in the Seventeenth Century

PART II

By C. F. BECKINGHAM

VAN DEN BROECKE sailed to Surat and Calicut and thence to Bantam, where he landed on 18th November, to find that Reynst had died. Coen considered that the voyage had been successful. On 25th November he informed Hans de Hase on the Coromandel Coast that nearly all the merchandise had been sold at Mocha at very high prices and that the *Nassau* had brought to Java 23,000 rials in cash: this had been only a trial voyage, but a good cargo would be sent when there was an opportunity.[1] On 10th December Coen reported to Holland that all the goods had been sold satisfactorily at Mocha except for some cloves, nutmegs, mace, and porcelain, which had been taken on to Surat. He described Van den Broecke as having been made very welcome by the "Viceroy of Leamen" at his capital, "Scena," a "great, beautiful and populous" town, lying ten days' journey inland from Mocha. He expressed surprise that the Turks should be able to keep their populous Arabian territories peaceful and obedient with such a small number of troops. Before Coen died in 1629 the Imam of San'a was to prove that the Turks were able to do nothing of the kind, even with considerably more troops; even in 1616 their power in the north was not always recognized, but it must be remembered that Van den Broecke had travelled only along one of the principal highways of the country. Of the commerce of the Yemen Coen gave his directors an account resembling that published by Van den Broecke, and discussed it in relation to the Company's interests elsewhere. He stated that the trade was controlled principally by merchants from Dabul, Chaul, and Surat. They exported clothing to Atjeh where they bought spices and Chinese goods which they sold at Mocha for ready money. The great annual ship from Suez carried from 2 to 300,000 rials in cash and from 16 to 20,000 Venetian ducats every year. The greater part of this was spent on pepper, much on indigo and cotton clothing, and rather less on cloves, nutmegs, and mace. A ship from Dabul with a cargo of pepper from Priaman had brought away 200,000

[1] H. T. Colenbrander, dl 2, p. 211.

rials. Coen said that the Mochans had expected the Dutch to attack the Indian ships, which may well be true, and that they had hoped they would do so and would gladly have joined in the attack, which is less probable. He considered it was in the Company's interest to prevent these ships from going to Mocha. He argued that if they were stopped and the Company did not send its own ships from the Indies to take their place, then the Red Sea merchants would be forced to buy their spices in the Levant, from the Dutch, and the trade between Holland and Turkey would benefit; whereas, if the Company itself sent spices to Mocha, then its ships would bring back the rials and ducats and the amount of money sent out to Bantam every year could be reduced accordingly. Whatever happened, he declared, trade at Mocha must be so regulated that the Company met with no hindrance in selling Indian goods in the Netherlands.[1]

On 5th March next year, Van den Broecke, in command of the *Middelburg* and the *Duif* was commissioned to visit Mauritius, Madagascar, the Red Sea coasts, and Surat. This venture miscarried. The ships, badly damaged off the African coast, took refuge near Cape Guardafui, tried to reach Socotra and then, because of their dangerous condition, made for Surat. They were both wrecked on the Indian coast near Daman.[2] On 20th November Coen wrote to Amboyna that shortage of cargo had prevented him from sending a ship to Mocha but he was hoping to send one during the coming year.[3]

Meanwhile Ja'far Pasha and Hasan Aga had been recalled. On 16th February, 1618, on their way through Aleppo, they met the Dutch consul, Cornelis Pauw. They warned him that it would be very dangerous for the Company to send more ships to the Red Sea until it had received authorization from the Porte, especially as there was now a new governor at San'a. On 10th April the Amsterdam Chamber of the Company wrote to Coen about this and instructed him to be very careful; he was not to land much merchandise at a time and was to keep on good terms with the Governor.[4]

In his original report on the voyage of 1616 Coen had informed the

[1] Ibid., dl 1, pp. 237–240.
[2] V. d. Broecke, pp. 71–6.
[3] H. T. Colenbrander, dl 2, p. 285.
[4] Ibid., dl 4, pp. 401–2.

directors that the consent of the Porte must be obtained if a factory was to be established in Arabia. Cornelis Haga, Dutch Ambassador at Constantinople, was ordered to secure this. In July, 1618, Osman II issued a firman addressed to the Pasha at San'a and permitting the Dutch to trade peacefully at Mocha, Aden, Shihr, and other ports within the province of the Yemen.[1] On 17th November Haga wrote to the Company urging that its servants should be as careful as possible not to impair good relations and should on no account venture into the northern part of the Red Sea as the ports to the west of Mecca and Medina (i.e. Jidda and Yanbu') were forbidden to unbelievers. He recommended that the factors should procure testimonials from the Turkish qadis vouching for their good behaviour to the Moslem Indian merchants who came to the Red Sea to trade; such documents could be sent to Constantinople and would be of great value there in refuting slanderous accusations.[2]

It was almost two years before Coen could take advantage of this firman. On 24th June, 1618, he wrote to Holland to say that he would willingly have sent a ship to Arabia, Surat, and "the Coast" (i.e. of Coromandel) but that he had not enough ships.[3] He went on to deplore his insufficient resources and his complaint was often repeated.[4] On 29th September he stated that he dared not send a ship for fear of the effect which its absence from the Moluccas would have.[5] On 5th August, 1619, he remarked that he had seen a copy of the firman: it was lamentable that shortage of shipping prevented him from sending to a place where trade was excellent and where much money could be made.[6]

At last, on 14th June, 1620, Van den Broecke was commissioned by Coen as Superintendent ("Opperhoofd") of trade at Mocha and Surat. Two days later he set sail from the new capital of Jacatra (Batavia) in *'t Wapen van Zeeland*. Even now his cargo was unsatisfactory. It was worth about 88,200 florins but Coen informed the Company that there was too little benzoin, and no mace or

[1] Text, in Dutch, in J. E. Heeres, *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum*, dl 1, 1907, pp. 136–8.

[2] Terpstra, pp. 114–15.

[3] H. T. Colenbrander, dl 1, p. 346. In this month Coen became Governor-General.

[4] E.g. ibid., pp. 371, 388. [5] Ibid., p. 393. [6] Ibid., p. 496.

nutmegs had arrived from the Bandas in time to be included.[1] Van den Broecke's instructions, dated 15th June, were to sell at Mocha whatever would command a good price and take to Surat the money gained thereby, taking care to arrive in India not later than the end of September. If some of the goods could not be sold profitably in the time at his disposal he was, if his Council agreed, to leave them at Mocha in charge of a factor.[2] Van den Broecke's description of his third and last visit to Arabia is as follows.[3]

"On the 16th of the same month (i.e. June, 1620), as Commander and Director of the factories established in Arabia, Persia, and India, I left with the ship *'t Wapen van Zeelandt* for the Red Sea where, thanks be to God, we arrived before the town of Aden on 22nd August, after many storms and tempests.

Note. In some places here the water boils up as red as blood because of the force with which it is discharged. Whenever a bucket was drawn up there red sand was lying at the bottom. Presumably it must have acquired the name Red Sea from this.

When we had anchored in the road I sent a boat to the shore with an interpreter who was well received by the Aga.

Next day I myself went in person to the Governor with the letter of recommendation from the Soudaen their lord. He treated us very well and at once promised us a good house in which to place our merchandise. Thereupon I assembled my Council. As the monsoon by which Suratte could be reached, was almost over, and to all appearances we should lose much time before we could come to Mocha, it was found good and expedient that the Upper-merchant Herman van Gil should land with some merchandise to await a suitable time to make his way to Mocha in Arab ships, which was our plan. I was to hasten to Suratte to take possession of my directorship over Arabia, Persia, and India.

Some goods and instructions for Van Gil were left there. He disembarked with an Under-merchant, two assistants, and two sailors. I recommended them very strongly to the Governor and left on the 29th of the same month, touching on my way at the famous island of Soccotora where the best aloes are found.

When we arrived in the road I sent the boat to the shore, well-

[1] Ibid., p. 573. [2] Ibid., dl 2, pp. 737–740. [3] V. d. Broecke, pp. 124–6.

equipped, with the Under-merchant Johan van der Dussen. He was well-treated there for he brought with him some of the King's people who had lost their ship at Monte de Foelix.[1] The boat returned to the ship with some refreshments. I at once sent it back to the shore where we bought a good amount of aloes, an ox, twenty-four sheep, two jars of butter and a good quantity of dried dates. They did not allow anyone into the town. The strong wind which arose caused us to drag our anchor and forced them to return on board. We set our course direct for Suratte in India.

This aforesaid island of Soccotora lies in latitude 12 degrees 30 minutes,[2] right in front of the mouth of the Red Sea. It is subject to the King of Catsiny in Arabia Foelix, named Soltaen Amer[3]; it is very fertile."

From Socotra Van den Broecke sailed to Surat where he remained as Superintendent.

The history of the Dutch factory during the years 1620–4 has been told in detail by Dr. Terpstra who has used archives which are not accessible outside Holland.[4] It will therefore be sufficient to summarize the principal events and to mention the journeys into the interior which the factors are known to have made. Van Gil decided to wait upon the Pasha himself before proceeding to Mocha. He set out from Aden on 26th September and reached San'a on 14th or 15th October. His reception was friendly and he received a letter of recommendation to all the Pasha's subordinate governors and officers. He left again on the 29th and arrived in Aden on 11th November. He had thus traversed much the same ground as Jourdain had done on his outward journey in 1609 and, so far as we know, Van Gil was the first of the Dutch to travel through the country between Aden and what is now the Yemeni frontier.

He remained at Aden until 21st January, but did little business and then sailed for Mocha which he reached on the 28th. His interpreter was Crabbe, one of the three men left at Shihr in 1614 to learn the language, but Van Gil studied Arabic himself. Crabbe was found to have embezzled money and fled to the Governor,

[1] Near Cape Guardafui.

[2] This parallel crosses the island.

[3] Probably 'Umar. Socotra has been subject to Qishn since the second half of the fifteenth century.

[4] Terpstra, pp. 117–126. For these years, except where otherwise indicated, he is the authority for the account here given.

promising to become a Moslem. However, the factors were able to seize him and send him away in disgrace at the first opportunity. This was afforded by the arrival of the *Sampson* and the *Weesp* which had left Java on 1st April under the command of Pieter Gillisz. van Ravesteyn with a cargo worth over 118,700 florins. Van Ravesteyn was an able and experienced official who had rendered valuable services to the Company in India. Unluckily he died at sea. His place was taken by the Upper-merchant from the *Weesp*, Willem de Milde, who was succeeded in his own post by Johan van der Burcht. The ships anchored at Aden on 16th June, stayed for a few days and then went on to Mocha where they arrived on 3rd or 4th July. On the 14th Van Gil died and next day De Milde, much against his will if his own account is to be believed, was chosen head factor and Van der Burcht commander of the *Sampson*.

Trade was bad, the annual ship from Suez had not come, prices were as low as they had ever been and the greater part of the merchandise brought by Van Gil was still unsold.[1] Only 2,800 rials could be produced for the *Sampson* to take to Surat. On 13th August the Council resolved that she should proceed to the Straits of Bab el Mandeb and there prey on the Indian ships returning from the Red Sea, some of which had been met at Mocha and had there applied for, and been granted Dutch passes. The *Sampson* probably left on 26th August and soon after took five prizes, including two large ships from Dabul. The Dutch, of course, always considered that Portuguese goods were not protected by the Indian flag and we have seen that Coen wanted to prevent the Gujeraṭi merchants from supplying spices to Arabia, but both he and Van den Broecke realized that Van der Burcht and his Council had made a very serious mistake. Coen reported to Holland that De Milde had advised that attacks on ships from Dabul would make the Dutch hated at Mocha where the Dabulis were esteemed above all others, being considered responsible for the most profitable trade. Coen himself spoke of their action as " stupidity, lack of discretion, negligence, and disloyalty ".[2] On 8th May, 1622, he wrote to Admiral Dedel, commander of the Defence Fleet that had been organized in accordance with an Anglo-Dutch compact of 1619, that " our people have scandalously violated their own promises

[1] N. Macleod, *De Oost-Indische Compagnie als zeemogenheid in Azië*, 1927, dl 1, pp. 403–4.

[2] H. T. Colenbrander, dl 3, p. 179.

and safe-conduct".[1] On 28th August he wrote again to Dedel confirming existing orders about attacking ships from Dabul, Chaul, etc., but insisting that it should be done only when the Company's business and good name would not suffer thereby. If there were no prospect of profitable trade at Mocha it would be better to close the factory and then attack unlicensed shipping indiscriminately.[2]

It was unfortunate that the depredations of Van der Burcht should have been followed almost immediately by the arrival in the Yemen of a new Vali, Ahmet Fazli Pasha,[3] who had a reputation for greed. On 16th February De Milde, an Assistant and two junior clerks [4] left for Zabid to greet him and procure a renewal of their licence. They arrived three days later and were at once imprisoned; at the same time the authorities at Mocha arrested the Under-merchant Willem Cornelisz. Cuycken and five other persons. The Pasha alleged that the Dutch had taken thirteen ships and that he had personally lost 1,000,000 rials. Both claims were absurdly exaggerated for the *Sampson* took only five prizes and the *Weesp* another two on her return voyage and the total value of the cargoes was much less than what the Pasha claimed as his share. On 11th March De Milde was told that Fazli's steward had stood surety for him and he was released. He secured a new licence on the 20th and at once returned to Mocha.

The Dutch factory never recovered from the effects of this quarrel. The Turks found their worst suspicions confirmed, the avarice of the Pasha had been aroused and the Dutch were reluctant to jeopardize their relations with the Porte by pressing strongly for a settlement of this comparatively unimportant dispute. When De Milde arrived back at Mocha he found there two ships from the Defence Fleet, *'t Wapen van Zeeland* and the *Noord Holland*, under the command of Jan van Gorcum. They had called at Aden on 6th March, had found there a letter left by Van Gil explaining that he had gone on to Mocha, had sailed again on the 8th and reached Mocha on the 13th. The Under-merchant of *'t Wapen van Zeeland*, Albert Becker, and twenty-seven sailors came ashore but all the Dutch were now arrested and taken to the Pasha in the interior.

[1] Ibid., p. 182. [2] Ibid., pp. 230–1.

[3] "By his exertions he had accumulated a vast fortune." Tritton, p. 80.

[4] Jongens, a grade below that of Assistant.

The sailors were soon sent back to Mocha and Becker joined them there on 2nd May, but De Milde and the factors were forced to accompany Fazli to San'a. In July the Pasha announced his decision to take all the goods in the factory and to pay for them at current prices when the ships, the men, and the bulk of the merchandise seized by the *Sampson* and *Weesp* had been restored. Thereupon De Milde was allowed to return to Mocha. He left on 20th July and arrived on 6th August. The Governor, 'Ali Aga, soon suspended the execution of the scheme and difficult negotiations ensued with De Milde and Van Gorcum, who might have used force if his ships had not been of too great draught to permit them to come close enough inshore to bombard the town effectively. At last an agreement was reached which provided for the release of all the Dutch. Becker and his men embarked and Van Gorcum sailed on the 19th, leaving De Milde still in custody. This was a breach of the agreement which was in any case repudiated by both Dedel and the Pasha who, when he next came to Mocha, had 'Ali Aga publicly hanged for having concluded it.

It was rumoured in Qishn that the Dutch were prisoners and that their goods had been confiscated and the friendly Sultan, hoping, perhaps, to embroil the Dutch with his Turkish enemies, reported this to Surat.[1] In January Dedel sent François Lemmens, Hubert Visnich, and Becker, all classed as Upper-merchants, in the yacht *Heusden*. Their orders were to go to Mocha, to take away the cash earned by the factory there and use it to establish one in Persia, and also to investigate the prospects of trade in Arabia; if these were not likely to improve it would be desirable to close the factory, though this would have to be done cautiously, all stocks being first sold and all debts recovered. Once this had been done unlicensed Moslem ships trading to Mocha could be treated as lawful prizes.

On her way the *Heusden* visited Qishn. Sultan "Ammor" who had also been visited by the *Weesp* on her return voyage in 1621, received the Dutch well, providing them with oxen, sheep, and goats and fresh water. Realizing that it might be a useful watering place and believing, wrongly, that the Sultan ruled the whole coast from Aden to Ras al Hadd, Lemmens gave him a small present and granted passes to the Qishni craft plying to Mocha and Surat.

[1] H. T. Colenbrander, dl I, p. 754.

Lemmens arrived at Mocha on 12th March, 1623. The new Governor, Amir Sulaiman, refused to allow him to take on board more than 4,000 rials of eight. De Milde was again summoned to the Pasha's court and the latter followed him back to Mocha. Protracted negotiations were conducted by Visnich for the Company. The Dutch refused to pay any compensation until the Pasha had paid for the goods he had taken from the factory and freed the factors. Fazli became furious and threatened to hang De Milde as he had done 'Ali Aga and by this means he extorted from him a bond for 40,000 rials. The *Heusden* sailed helplessly away on 26th April. The Pasha now forced De Milde to go back to San'a, leaving Isaack Sallaert in charge. Half the bond was now cancelled but De Milde was told he must remain with Fazli until the coming of the next Dutch ships would enable him to pay the balance.

Soon afterwards Fazli was recalled. He set out from San'a on 30th January, taking De Milde with him, and when they reached Hais he extracted 3,000 rials from him on the promise of freeing him at once. This promise was broken and the unfortunate man was sent under guard to Mocha. It was naturally with great pleasure that De Milde heard that the Pasha had died on 14th June. He seems to have typefied the worst kind of Ottoman official, rapacious, arbitrary, violent, and brutal.

On 2nd August De Milde undertook another journey to Zabid to meet the new Vali, Haidar Pasha, but after waiting there till the 18th he found that the Pasha had gone to Mocha. There they met on the 22nd. The interview was friendly but De Milde was told that he could obtain no reparation without the Sultan's approval. This the Dutch failed to secure. On 25th October, 1628, the "Heeren XVII", as the directors of the Company were known, informed Coen that there was little chance of getting any satisfaction for Fazli's misdeeds.[1] There was nothing the Dutch could do in Asia. Van Gorcum wanted to send a few ships of shallow draught and bombard the town; Van den Broecke advocated a naval blockade of the mouth of the Red Sea which would completely cut off the Indian trade from Mocha, but the authorities in Java could not take the responsibility for such drastic measures without reference to Holland and their suggestion was rejected unequivocally.

[1] Ibid., dl 5, p. 815.

The Mocha trade mattered less than the trade with the Levant ports and in no circumstances was it worth while to antagonise the Sultan; "enmity does us no service; peace and good, peaceable trade with all the world is more to our advantage."

In 1625, however, a determined effort was made to overawe the Vali of the Yemen. In September of that year Herman van Speult, a member of the Indies Council and Governor of Amboyna, sailed from the Moluccas for western Asia with seven ships, the *Mauritius*, the *Oranje*, the *Walcheren*, the *Goude Leeuw*, the *Hollandia*, the *Engelsche Beer*, and the *Goede Fortuin*. They called at Surat and reached Mocha in June, 1626. They sold a certain amount of Indian clothing, pepper, cloves, tobacco, sandalwood, iron, and cotton wool. In the middle of July Van Speult sent two Dutch merchants to Haidar Pasha at San'a with a present of 1,000 rials of eight to negotiate for the release of the Dutch factors, who had again been arrested, for the payment of the cost of the goods seized by Fazli Pasha and 'Ali Aga and for the re-establishment of the factory. The Pasha, in the words of the Englishman Knightley, "gave eare but little respect" and refused all their requests. Indeed, remarks Knightley, "it seemed they moved his patience so much that had they not retorned the sooner he had kept them there." They regained Mocha to find that Van Speult had died on 23rd July and the fleet set sail for India on 10th August, having achieved nothing and leaving De Milde still a prisoner. To make matters worse the *Goede Fortuin* was lost on the return voyage. Two months later a serious Arab revolt began, Aden was captured and all the principal Turkish strongholds were besieged, including Ta'iz, where De Milde was. Knightley reports that he was of great value to the Turks and took command of the artillery but, he observes, "this explanation of his abillity therein I feare will cause him never to depart the country." His suspicion was justified.[1]

The last serious attempt of the Dutch to retrieve their position was made in 1628. On 1st April Job Christiaensz. Grijp sailed from Surat in command of the *Bommel* and *Weesp* with a cargo worth over 12,150 florins. He arrived at Mocha on 15th May and

[1] F. Valentijn, *Oud- en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, dl 5, st. 1, *Beschryving der Kust van Choromandel*, p. 186; *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia*, 1624–9, 1896, p. 303; Knightley's letter will be found in Sir W. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, 1624–9, 1909, pp. 347–355.

sent the merchant Otto Westerholt to negotiate with the Governor who gave a written undertaking that the Dutch would not be molested but refused to consider an exchange of hostages. Grijp hired a house to serve as a factory. There were many Indian ships in the road but trade was almost impossible. Fighting between the Turks and Arabs had prevented the arrival or departure of caravans, it was the third year that the voyage of the "royal ship" from Suez had been suspended, the warehouses were full, prices were disastrously low and the greater part of Grijp's cargo remained unsold. On 12th July he sailed away.[1]

Grijp had not seen De Milde but heard that he was still at Ta'iz which was still besieged. His fate is not known. The last news that reached the Company was that in 1632 he was a prisoner of the Arabs. On 18th October, 1642, it was decided to pay 2,000 florins to his heirs in settlement of all their claims.[2]

The Company now abandoned its efforts to establish a permanent factory in Arabia. On 18th August, 1629, Coen wrote to Surat directing that in view of the meagre results of Grijp's visit and the increasing disorders in the Yemen, no more ships should be sent though everything within reason was to be done to secure the release of De Milde.[3] Ten days later the XVII wrote to Coen on similar lines. They told him that it would be useless to set up a permanent establishment for the Mocha trade was of little value. They supported this consoling thought with the argument that the most important commodity sold there was spices and that as these were mostly consumed in the Mediterranean, the more spices they sold at Mocha the less they could sell in the Levant. Coen was instructed to seek the release of De Milde but to leave no one else there. Trade might be conducted from visiting ships which were to combine their own commerce with freight carrying for the Surat merchants. He was also warned against dispersing his shipping resources at a time when the Portuguese had received naval reinforcements.[4]

Intermittent visits of the kind envisaged in these instructions

[1] H. Dunlop, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Oostindische Compagnie in Perzië*, dl 1, 1930, no. 132, pp. 245–6; H. T. Colenbrander, dl 5, p. 151; *Dagh-Register*, 1624–9, p. 336.

[2] Stapel, dl 3, p. 198; P. van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, bk. 1, dl 2, 1929, p. 318.

[3] H. T. Colenbrander, dl 5, p. 591.

[4] Ibid., dl 5, pp. 845, 6.

continued throughout the century and in 1638 a firman was obtained by the Dutch from the Zaidi Imam of San'a, now reasonably secure in his independence.[1] The principal article of commerce at Mocha was now coffee, of which Grijp had bought the first consignment of forty bales in 1628, but it was not until 1663 that any was shipped to Holland. From time to time the Council at Batavia discussed the advisability of discontinuing the voyages to Mocha, and on 21st August, 1684, a resolution to this effect was adopted. The Company's coffee was now purchased in India, having been imported from Arabia by Moslem merchants. Gradually, and without any express cancellation of the former order, casual visits to Mocha were resumed, and on 21st August, 1696, it was decided to establish a factory there.[2] Coffee was now a commodity of increasing importance but already experiments were being made with growing it in Java. These succeeded so rapidly and so completely that Mocha had no chance to regain its old importance in the eastern trade.

[1] India Office Records, Hague Transcripts, vol. xi, no. 367.

[2] N. Macleod, dl 1, p. 424; Stapel, dl 3, pp. 449, 50.

Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of the Royal College of Physicians.

By A. S. TRITTON

Arabic

No. 1. pp. 286; lines 21; text $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$.[1] Dated 1307/1889.
Composite volume copied from books in the Royal Library, Cairo.
I. pp. 1–74. Author: 'Alī b. Riḍwān.
Title: fi daf' maḍārr al-abdān bi arḍ miṣr.
II. pp. 76–138. No author's name.
Title: saif al-amrāḍ.
III. pp. 140–208. This is the same as Arundel Or. 13 entitled: mukhtaṣar mushtamil 'alā zubda mā yajib istiḥḍārihi min ṣinā'at al-ṭibb.
IV. pp. 216–242. Author: Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Akfānī.
Title: ghāyat al-qaṣd fī ṣinā'at al-faṣd.
V. pp. 245–287. Mixed contents, beginning with Hippocrates' signs of approaching death.

No. 2. Fol. 156; lines 18; text $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$.
Author: Abu 'l-Faraj b. Ya'qūb b. al-Quff.
Title: K. al-uṣūl fi sharḥ al-fuṣul.
Copyist: Aḥmad b. Sulaimān. A fine fourteenth-century MS.
It contains the first 38 folios of B.M. Or. 1348, which has 178 folios.

No. 3. Fol. 286; lines 15; text 6×4. Dated 965/1557.
Author: Abu 'l-Munā b. abī Bakr b. Ḥaffāẓ.
Title: minhāj al-dukkān wa-dustūr al-a'yān.
Final copyist: Ibrāhīm b. abi 'l-Yumn al-Ṣaidawī; but not all in the same hand.

No. 4. Fol. 152; lines 29–31; text $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$. Dated 963/1555.
Author: 'Alī b. Ghānim al-Khazrajī al-Ḥanafī.
An abridgement of al-tadhkira al-hādiya. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭarkhān al-Suwaidī; it is the completion of a work begun by al-Qawṣūnī.

[1] Area of written surface in inches.

No. 5. Fol. 206; lines 25; text 9 × 5½. Dated 1210/1795.
Author: Ḥasan b. Nūḥ al-Qumrī.
Title: K. al-ghinā wal-munā.

No. 6. Fol. 117; in tabular form; 10½ × 6½.
Author: Abū Sa'īd Ibrāhīm al-Maghribī (seventeenth century).
Title: al-fatḥ fi 'l-tadāwī li-jamī' al-amrāḍ wal-shakāwā.
A list of medicines; a note dated 1912 says there are 550.
A tale of Harun Rashid is on the last flyleaf.

No. 7. Fol. 141; lines 23; text 6 × 4. Dated 1058/1648.
The same; a table of contents and an explanatory preface which are not in No. 6.

No. 8. pp. 553; lines 15; text 7 × 4. Date 1936.
Author: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Baladī.
Title: K. fī tadbīr al-ḥubālā wal-aṭfāl wal-ṣibyān.

No. 9. pp. 63; lines 19; text 8 × 4½. Dated 1332/1914.
Author: Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Dar'i.
Title: K. al-hidāya. Medicine in verse.

No. 10. Fol. 247; lines 32; text 10½ × 7.
Author: Ḥusain b. 'Abdullāh b. Sīnā; Avicenna.
Title: al-qānūn fī 'ilm al-ṭibb.
Imperfect at the end; it extends to fol. 214*b* of the Teheran edition.
A fine hand of the fourteenth century.

No. 11. Fol. 261; lines 20; text 6 × 4. Dated 1282/1865.
The same.
Book 1. Copyist: Muḥammad b. Mīr Muḥammad b. Ḥusain al-Ḥasani.
Book 2. Copyist: Mīrza Ḥusain b. Shams al-dīn.
Extends to fol. 124*b* of the Teheran edition.

No. 12. Fol. 184; lines 21; text 10 × 7. Dated 611/1214.
The same; book 1.
Fol. 1 does not belong, for one page is on the humours of the body, with rubrications, and the other has notes on Avicenna by Hibat allāh b. Ṣā'id.
Copyist: 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. Musā'id.

No. 13. Fol. 267; lines 17; text 6½ × 3½.
The same.
Corresponds to fols. 125*b*–180*a* of the Teheran edition.

No. 14. Fol. 91; lines 15; text 5 × 2½. Probably seventeenth century.
Author: Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Jaghmīnī.
Title: qānūnche fi 'l-ṭibb.
After fol. 70 the leaves containing sections 3 to 10 of discourse 7 are lost.
Copyist: Sālim al-Āmidī.

No. 15. Fol. 383; lines 15; text 7 × 4. Dated 1353/1934.
Author: 'Alī b. al-Ḥazm (Ḥaram) b. al-Nafīs.
A commentary on the *Qānūn* of Avicenna. After a preface it deals with fols. 8a–18a of the Teheran edition and has a section on the formation of the embryo. It contains the first description of the pulmonary circulation.

No. 16. Fol. 553; lines 31; text 7½ × 4. Dated 1062/1652.
The same.
Fols. 1–542 deal with book 3 (fols. 125b–286 of the Teheran edition) and fols. 542–553 with book 5.
Copyist: Muḥammad Mu'min al-jihād Daqqānī.

No. 17. Fol. 409; lines 27; text 9 × 5.
Author: Maḥmūd b. Mas'ūd, Quṭb al-dīn al-Shīrāzī.
Vols. 4 and 5 of a commentary on the *Qānūn* of Avicenna.
It begins with urine and ends with fevers. Vol. 5 begins on fol. 244b.

No. 18. Fol. 39; lines 31; text 7 × 4½. Modern.
Author: Sadīd al-dīn al-Kāzarunī.
Title: Part I. al-mughnī.
A commentary on *al-mūjaz*, a summary by Ibn al-Nafīs on the *Qānūn* of Avicenna.

No. 19. pp. 366; lines *circa* 23; text 5½ × 3.
Dated 926/1520 on p. 180 and 1237/1821 on p. 366; the work of several hands. Last copyist: Muḥammad.
The same (both parts).
British Museum Or. 1349 has matter at the end which is wanting here.

No. 20. Fol. 210; lines 17; text 6½ × 5½. Dated 1084/1673.
Nastaliq. Composite volume.
I. The same; both parts.
II. Author: Ḥasan b. Nūḥ al-Qumrī.
Title: muṣṭalaḥāt al-ṭibb.

In ten discourses beginning on fol. 200.

No. 21. Fol. 131 ; lines 31 ; text 7 × 4½. Modern.
A commentary on the Qānūn of Avicenna ; imperfect at the beginning ; it extends from fol. 23a to fol. 32a of the Teheran edition.

No. 22. Fol. 126 ; lines 21 ; text 8½ × 5½.
A fine Maghribi hand of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century.
Author : Galen.
Title : Simple medicaments.
Incomplete and the leaves in disorder.

No. 23. Fol. 74 ; lines 21 ; text 8 × 5.
Author : Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabari.
Title : al-mu'ālajat al-buqrāṭiyya.
This book contains the fourth discourse, that on the eye, out of the ten which form a system of medicine. Even so, it is incomplete, for its stops in the fifty-third chapter, omitting chapter 54.

No. 24. Fol. 53 ; lines irregular, sometimes 31 ; text 9¼ × 6½.
Date partly illegible ; 8–1, so written about A.D. 1400.
Author : Mukhtār b. Ḥasan b. Buṭlān.
Title : taqwīm al-ṣiḥḥa.

No. 25. Fol. 158 ; lines 21 (11 on fols. 3–7) : text 10 × 6.
The first two folios have been supplied by another hand ; lines 30. Dated 1111/1699.
Author : Yaḥyā b. 'Īsā b. Jazla.
Title : minhāj al-bayān fī mā yasta'miluhu 'l-insān.
Fol. 158 is a collection of prescriptions.

No. 26. Fol. 268 ; lines 27 ; text 6¼ × 4. Fifteenth or sixteenth century.
The same.
Karshuni ; specifically Muslim phraseology is omitted.

No. 27. Fol. 60 ; tables ; text 9½ × 5½. Dated 1317/1899.
Author : Yahyā b. 'Isā b. Jazla.
Title : taqwīm al-abdān.
The book occupies fols. 1–58a ; the rest is taken up with medical anecdotes.
Copyist : Yūsuf Ḥasan. He wrote only fols. 41–60, for the rest are older.

No. 28. Fol. 318; lines 25; text 8 × 4½. Probably seventeenth century.
The hand is almost nastaliq.
Author: Yūsuf b. Ismā'īl al-Juwainī, al-Kutubī.
Title: mā lā yasa'u 'l-ṭabīb jahluhu.

No. 29. Fol. 89; lines from 21 to 30; text 9 × 5.
Fols. 75–89 by a second hand, almost a scrawl. Some folios misplaced.
The same.

No. 30. Fol. 68; lines 29; text 10 × 5. Date *circa* 1800.
Leaves lost after fol. 67. Composite volume.
I. Author: 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī.
Title: mukhtaṣar al-tadhkira.
An abridgement of the work of Ibn Ṭarkhān (cf. No. 4).
II. Fol. 67*a*.
Author: Muḥammad b. Zakariya al-Rāzī.
Title: bur'u 'l-sā'a.
Most of the book is missing; a Persian version is in No. 41, item VI.

No. 31. Fol. 483; lines 21; text 6½ × 3.
Author: Nafīs b. 'Iwaḍ al-Karmānī.
Title: sharḥ fuṣūl buqrāṭ.
A system of medicine; this is deserted at the end:—
Fol. 413*a* fevers. Fol. 454*a* swellings and pustules.
Fol. 468*a* white hair, etc. Fol. 482*a* various prescriptions.
Copyist: 'Abd al-'Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Tibrīzī.

No. 32. Fol. 230; lines *circa* 28; text 8 × 4½.
Composite volume.
I. The same.
Imperfect; ending at fol. 365*b* of No. 31. There are minor differences.
II. Fols. 154–213. *Qānūn* of Avicenna, book 1 up to fol. 60 of the Teheran edition.
III. Fol. 216. *Qānūn*, book 4; fols. 299*a*–310*b* of the Teheran edition.

No. 33. pp. 245; lines 15; text 5 × 2½. Probably seventeenth century.
Composite volume.

I. Author : Paracelsus.
Title : K. al-ṭibb.

II. pp. 125–212.
Author : Crollius (Oswald).
Title : kīmiyā bāsilīqiyya.
Bankipur catalogue (vol. 4, no. 83) gives the translator as Ṣāliḥ b. Naṣr allāh b. Sallūm.

No. 34. Fol. 182 ; lines 19 ; text 6 × 3. Early eighteenth century.
Beginning and end lost.
Subject, pharmacology.

No. 35. Fol. 107 ; lines 17 ; text 7½ × 5¼. Probably thirteenth century.
Subject, pharmacology.
The leaves are in disorder and form parts of two or possibly three books. In one the arrangement is according to the parts of the body ; in another, according to the nature of the drugs.

No. 36. Fol. 229 ; lines 30 ; text 10 × 5½. Probably eighteenth century.
Author : Ṣāliḥ b. Naṣr allāh b. Sallūm (cf. No. 33).
Title : ghāyatu 'l-itqān.
Some pages lost at the end. Six folios with 31 lines and text 6½ × 4½ have been bound in.

No. 37. Fol. 232 ; lines 17 ; text 6 × 3½. Dated 1217/1802.
No author's name.
Title : taqwīm al-abdān fī 'ilm al-ṭibb.
Not the same book as No. 27. It has twenty-six discourses divided into chapters ; the first seven chapters and discourses 3 to 8 are missing. A system of medicine, beginning with urine and ending with the treatment of the hair.
On top edge : Book of Paracelsus the German on chemical medicine.

No. 38. Fol. 58 ; lines 21 ; text 6 × 4. Date, seventeenth or eighteenth century.
Fols. 1–29.
Author : Dāūd b. abi 'l-Bayān.
Title : dustūr al-bīmāristān.
The language is colloquial.

Fols. 29b-58. An anonymous collection of prescriptions with many marginal notes.

No. 39. Fol. 51; lines 14; text 6 × 4.

Only the last figure of the date is legible, **4; but 1135/1722 occurs on a flyleaf.

Author: Mustaphā b. Ibrāhīm al-Khulūṣī.

Title: K. al-lamḥa.

A list of diseases, starting from the head and ending with fevers and hydrophobia. The end is missing and fols. 27–36 are by a second hand.

No. 40. Fol. 87; lines 16; text 7 × 4.

The date 1707, presumably of the Christian era, is written in Syriac characters.

No author's name.

Title: K. al-lamḥa fi 'l-ṭibb.

General principles of medicine; perhaps the first part of No. 39.

No. 41. pp. 399; lines 17; text 4½ × 2½. Dated 1244/1828 or 1266/1849.

Composite volume in Arabic and Persian.

I. Extract from a materia medica, ending with the driving away of insects, excessive fatness and thinness. Persian.

II. p. 112. Diarrhœa. Persian.

III. p. 188. Poisons and antidotes. Arabic.

IV. p. 217. Venesection. Persian.

V. p. 249. Venesection. Persian.

VI. p. 264. Author: al-Rāzī.
Title: bur'u 'l-sā'a. Persian (cf. No. 30, II).

VII. p. 285. Author: Taqī al-dīn Muḥammad al-Fārisi.
Diseases of the eye. Persian.

VIII. p. 312. Author: Muḥammad b. abī Muḥammad b. Muslim.
Medicine. Arabic.

IX. p. 341. Simple and compound drugs. Persian.

X. p. 353. Author: Nūr allāh 'Alā al-dīn.
China root. Persian.

No. 42. Fol. 31; lines circa 20; text 6½ × 3.

Nastaliq; twenty-seven drawings; formulae.

Two magical texts.

I. Author: Abū Bakr b. Ṭāhir al-Fazarī.
Title: miyātalus (it occurs on fol. 24b).
Introduction; mansions of the moon with congruent charms, illustrated. A blank on fol. 14b has not been filled with a picture.

II. Fols. 25–31.
Author: 'Uṭārid b. Muḥammad (probably apocryphal).
Title: K. al-baranī wal-aḥjār li-hermes.
Stones connected with the planets, lodestone, etc., charms.

No. 43. Koran. Text 7½ × 4; gilt and coloured *'unwān* and chapter heads, the frames of the pages, verse dividers and liturgical marks gilt. Dated 1096/1684.

No. 44. Fol. 118; lines 7; text 6 × 4. No date; illuminated *'unwān* and titles, some unfinished.
Eight chapters of the Koran, two sets of prayers for the days of the week, and a prayer of al-Shādhilī.

No. 45. pp. 347; lines 23; text 7 × 2¾; nastaliq (pp. 340–7 naskhi; lines 26; two hands).
Dated 1058/1648, perhaps only for the last hand.
Author: Muḥammad b. Zakariya al-Rāzī.
Title: al-kāfī fi 'l-ṭibb.
Preface; definitions.
Part 1. Generalities on theory and practice.
Part 2. Simple and compound drugs.
Part 3. Diseases of separate organs.
Part 4. Food and poisons.

PERSIAN

No. 46. Fol. 21; lines 34; text 11 × 6. Dated 1067/1656.
Author: Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad.
Title: tashrīḥ Manṣūr.
This copy contains six anatomical drawings, the osseous, nervous, muscular, venous, arterial systems, and a gravida. Fol. 7b is blank.

No. 47. pp. 84; lines 16; text 7 × 4½. Seventeenth or eighteenth century.

The same.

Two folios or a little more wanting at the end. Five diagrams.

No. 48. pp. 230; lines 11; text 6 × 3½. Naskhi. Modern.

The same.

Perhaps two leaves lost at the end; six diagrams and a sketch.

No. 49. Fol. 532; lines 33; text 9½ × 6. Dated 1010/1601.

Author: Ismā'īl b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥusainī al-Jurjānī.

Title: dhakhīra khwarazmshāhī.

In nine books, to which a tenth was added. There are two editions; in one certain sections are called *guftār* and in the other *maqāla* (cat. of Persian MSS. in the British Museum, p. 466). Many marginal notes both in Persian and Hebrew letters; the latter date from about 1800 and are by several hands; mostly they are transcriptions of headings in the text.

Copyist: Aḥmad b. 'Alī.

No. 50. Fol. 141; lines 17; text 9 × 5½.

The same.

Fols. 1–83. Bold naskhi, diacritics often omitted. Dated 567/1171.

The eighth, ninth, and tenth discourses of book 6; corresponding to fols. 286*a*–309*a* of No. 49.

Fols. 84*b*–141 nastaliq of the seventeenth century.

The eleventh, twelfth, and part of the thirteenth discourse of book 6; corresponding to fols. 309*a*–327*b* of No. 49.

Fol. 84*a* prescriptions in a careless hand.

No. 51. Fol. 210; lines 27; text 9½ × 5½. Date *circa* 1600.

The end is lost and a gap is after fol. 1.

The same.

From the third discourse of book 6 to discourse 15, chapter 5, corresponding to fols. 197*b*–338*a* of No. 49.

No. 52. Fol. 246; lines 25; text 9 × 5½. Dated 1012/1604.

The last five folios in another hand and some notes in the margin.

The same.

Books 4, 5, and part of 6; fols. 147*b*–285*b* of No. 49.

No. 53. pp. 710; lines *circa* 22; text 7 × 5. Dated 1052/1642.
Several hands, both nastaliq and naskhi.
Author: Muḥammad Hāshim, called 'Alawī Khān or Ḥakīm Bāshī.
Title: khulāṣat-al-tajārib.
A system of medicine; many marginal notes.
E. G. Browne (Catalogue, p. 186) gives a different author.

No. 54. pp. 412; lines 23; text 7 × 4½.
Author: 'Alī b. Ḥusain al-Anṣārī, Zain al-dīn al-'Aṭṭār.
Title: ikhtiyārāt-i-badī'ī.
p. 410. On the China root, by Nūr allāh al-'Allāma.

No. 55. pp. 52; lines 18; text 7½ × 4½. Gold frame. Modern.
Badly damaged; no author's name or title preserved.
Subject, poisons.

No. 56. pp. 195; lines 12–15; text 4½ × 2.
Composite volume, several hands, first page lost.
I. p. 3. China root. Persian.
Copyist: Muḥammad 'Alī b. Sayyid 'Alī Ḥusain.
II. p. 63. Author: Maḥmūd b. Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd.
Title; Ātishak. Composed 677/1278. Persian.
Copyist: 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. Mas'ūd. Dated 1037/1628.
III. p. 130. Author: 'Imād al-dīn Maḥmūd.
Title: R. dar mu'ālajāt buqrāṭiyya. Persian.
Copyist: Muḥammad 'Alī b. Sayyid 'Alī Ḥusain.
IV. p. 143. Hibat allāh b. Ṣā'id b. Ibrāhīm.
Title: R. fi 'l-faṣd. Arabic.
V. p. 168. Author: Aristotle.
Title: farasnāmeh. Persian.
Translator: Muḥammad b. Ḥusain.
VI. p. 178. Author: Muḥammad b. Jalāl al-dīn Muḥammad.
Title: R. fi 'l-ḥumayyāt al-murakkaba. Arabic.
Dated 1086/1675.

No. 57. Fol. 63; lines 12; text 5 × 3. Modern.
Anonymous.
Title: R. al-'ilāj wal-ishāl.

No. 58. Fol. 219; lines 12; text 5 × 3. Naskhi. Dated 1127/1715.
Author: Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī al-Shifā'ī.
Title: qarābādhīn.

No. 59. Tūti nāmeh.
Very imperfect; with Indian miniatures.

No. 60. Author: Zakariya b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī.
Title: 'ajā'ib al-makhluqāt. Persian version.
A fragment of the book with artless but pleasing miniatures.

Nos. 61 and 62. Examples of calligraphy.

TURKISH

No. 63. Fol. 201; lines 15; text $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$. Probably seventeenth century.
Author: Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-'Ulwainī al-Taunīsī.
Title: tarwīḥ al-arwāḥ.
A system of medicine in verse; this vol. begins with chapter 2.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near & Middle East

OLD PERSIAN, GRAMMAR, TEXTS, LEXICON. By ROLAND G. KENT. American Oriental Society, 1950.

On the foundations laid by the decipherments of G. F. Grotefend and H. Rawlinson, who first made known the contents of the Achæmenian inscriptions of Persia, a small band of scholars have laboured over 150 years to secure the best possible text and interpretation. The material is important alike to history and to linguistic studies. Iranianists, Indianists, and scholars in the comparative grammar of the Indo-European languages have laboured together. As heir to all his predecessors' knowledge, Professor Kent has presented us with a treasury of Old Persian learning. We find in the book texts meticulously established with exact translations, preceded by full grammatical analysis (sounds, forms, syntax), and followed by a glossary with full references. Each inscription is carefully described. In the broken inscriptions the lacunæ are as far as possible filled up. The author's aim has been to offer a comprehensive treatment of all extant Old Persian linguistic material in cuneiform, for which no one book at present provided. He has been able even to anticipate, by the kindness of Professor G. G. Cameron, future improvements in the readings which result from the latest methods applied to the Behistun inscription, of which an account can be read in the *National Geographic Magazine*, December, 1950. It is good to be able to recognize that the author has attained his aim: reliable texts based upon full discussions of all difficult passages. Ought one with so much offered to regret the absence of equivalents from the Elamite and Akkadian versions for all passages where they exist? Some are given, but for the rest the student will have to seek them out, and their addition here would have been a great service. In the grammatical portion a conservative moderation is exercised so that the Indo-European form accepted does not (perhaps need not here) show anything of the latest speculations on early Indo-European. The bibliography to each item of the Glossary is copious. A few additional references will, no doubt, occur to readers. One may like to add under *dāru*, p. 190, V. Abaiev, *Iranskie Yazyki*, i, 132 (the book is quoted on p. 201); under *di*, pron., E. Benveniste,

Studi baltici, iii, 1933; under *Skunxa*, A. Freiman, *Izvestia Akademii Nauk*, 1948, 235–240; P. J. Junge, *ZDMG.*, 1944, on *Ākaufačiya*; J. Charpentier, to p. 203, on *mṛdvīkā*, in *Acta Orient.*, 7, 191; and C. Bartholomae, *SHeidel. AW.*, 1919, 22, on *duvaišta*. I should like to see Armenian *amehi* "unruly" mentioned on p. 213, under *hamiçiya*. From a wider background of Iranian knowledge offered us in the newly recovered languages of the Sogdians and Sakas we may prefer different interpretations. Thus, should not one compare *yāumani-* "skilled" with the *ywk*, *ywč-* "learn" in Sogdian? Under *gaub-*, p. 182, a reference to Sogd. *γwβ-* "praise" (with Armenian *gov-*) indicates a useful development for the meaning of the Old Persian middle (a similar reference would have been important also in the article on *Gobhila*, by W. Wüst, in *BSOS.*, viii, 835–873). Instead of finding *nar-* "man" in *uvnara-*, p. 177, we should probably better start from the verbal base *nar-* "be strong, prosperous", known in Turfan Mid. Persian *wnyr-*, and Ossetic *nărsun* "swell, increase", *nard* "fat". In the small space allotted here only a note or two can be added. Under *axšaina*, p. 165, ought we not to find a reference to Sansk. *akṣa* "blue vitriol", which is supported by Khowar *oç* "vitriol" (see G. Morgenstierne, Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan, p. 72)? For the Zoroastrian Pahlavi *brahm* (rendered by Sansk. *alankāra* "ornament" in the Škand-gumānīk Vičār) I should prefer to seek a derivative from *barg-* "to exalt, honour", rather than from *barz-* "be great, high". In connection with *mãniya-*, p. 202, reference can now be made to Kuchean *mānye* "slave", cited by W. Krause in *Zeitsch. f. vgl. Sprachforschung*, 69 (1951), 187, since Iranian words are found in that language. With *vaj-* "pull out", p. 206, we may associate Baločī *gwajag* "pull out". For the etymology of *spāda* "army", p. 210, the Khotanese is important. In that form of Saka Iranian the Indo-Iranian *śų* was kept distinct from Indo-Iranian *sp*, so that while *śų* passed to *śś* (that is, unvoiced *ś*), the *sp* was kept as *sp*. In this Khotanese, *spāta* renders Sansk. *senāpati*, that is "commander, captain", and can be traced by usual changes to **spāda-pati*. Here, then, we have Old Iran. *sp-*. Failure to note this feature of Khotanese (*śų* > *ś*) has also led J. Gonda to a wrong interpretation of Avestan *spənta* (*Oriens*, ii, 1949, 195 ff.). I would add one other note: since Welsh *Iwerddon* corresponds to Irish *Éire* there can be no comparison with *ariya*, p. 170.

Everyone interested in Old Persian will learn much from this book. It is a lifetime's most admirable achievement.

H. W. BAILEY.

LES INSCRIPTIONS THAMOUDÉENNES. By A. VAN DEN BRANDEN. pp. xvi + 597, xxii plates. Louvain, 1950.

This is a corpus of the Tamudic graffiti. All (except four Philby texts) had been published; but there is much original work here in interpretation and in comments generally judicious and interesting, though from the difficult and uncertain nature of the material not perhaps always the last word. For example, the reading *tšwq* in *JSa.*, 596 (p. 355), instead of Winnett's *tšḏd*, hardly seems supported by the facsimile, where *d* is pretty clear. However, the bibliography attached to each text, full indices of words and names, and the numerical concordance, combined with the author's own interpretations, make this an invaluable base for further research.

In a chapter on the script, the author's thesis is that Winnett's scheme of five alphabets is too rigid. He prefers a system based on locality-groups, recognizing evolutionary tendencies which did not everywhere move at an equal pace, and which did not prevent more developed forms of some letters co-existing in the same text with older forms of others. The exposition of this complex subject is not always easy to follow; I find it difficult, for example, to comprehend the reference (p. 21) to "*ṭ* du premier courant d'évolution, quoique l'inscription appartienne déjà au second, de sorte que *ṭ* et *ḥ* ne peuvent plus être distingués l'un de l'autre", since the script-table in pl. 1 shows a *ṭ* of the "premier courant" distinct from *ḥ* of the "deuxième courant". On p. 32 the four multivalent signs are erroneously printed in reverse order.

The grammatical sketch could with advantage have been less compressed. To quote (p. 34) *klm* simply as a "syncopated" form of *klhmw* hardly does justice to this interesting form, which rather suggests a dialectal approximation to N.W. Semitic. Spellings such as *šwkr*, *ḏyhn*, etc. (p. 35), can surely not be explained by the thesis that "les faibles *y* et *w*, disparues en arabe classique, se sont maintenues en thamoudéen"? In *JSa.* 50 the author interprets *kḏ* as "ceci", assigning a merely "reinforcing" rôle to *k*; but it is misleading to quote (p. 37) in support Höfner, *Altsüdar. Gram.*, p. 45,

where *hgn* is clearly explained as "*wie dieses*". It is unsafe to state (p. 46) that filiation in sabaean is sometimes expressed by *ḏ*— the exact implication of this sabaean usage is dubious; the author's main argument at this point would have been better supported by a comparison with Persian usage of the *iḍāfa* to express filiation.

A. F. L. Beeston.

Répertoire d'Epigraphie Sémitique. Tom. vii, livraison 3. Paris, 1950.

All interested in Semitic epigraphy will rejoice at the appearance of this volume. Originally it was intended that it should conclude the series of South Arabian inscriptions, but new material accumulated during its preparation will form an eighth volume, and the combined indices to volumes 5–7 are held over until then. The present fascicule contains only inscriptions published up to about 1942, although it takes account of subsequent references to those texts. It is a further monument to the meticulous and indefatigable scholarship of Professor G. Ryckmans, who has once again placed Semitists under a debt of gratitude for his admirable synthesis of work done on each text and for his own judicious comments.

A. F. L. Beeston.

Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Nos. 69201–69852. Instruments de Musique. By M. Hans Hickmann. Service des Antiquités de Égypte. pp. viii + 216, pls. 116. Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie orientale. Le Caire, 1949.

A full and much-needed work. Not only is each instrument completely described, but every fragment also. In the aerophonic group we are given lengths and diameters not only of the tubes but of digit holes also, which enable us to build up their precise scales. The drawings of details of instrumental construction are most praiseworthy, whilst the plates often display as many as three positions of one instrument. In short, the whole of the descriptive, analytical, and photographic material, is so excellent that one feels uneasy in having to criticize on points which may be termed extraneous.

Dr. Hickmann follows Curt Sachs rather too slavishly, although for string instruments he prefers the un-Greek word "Cordophones",

a departure one may accept because "chord" has quite another implication to modern musicologists. τρίγονον instead of τρίγωνον is but a slip, although an amusing one. The Arabic terminology (as previously displayed in the author's *Terminologie arabe des instruments de musique*, 1947) is scarcely satisfactory, e.g. *al-qidbān al-miṣfaqa* are "clapping wands" rather than "percussion sticks". *ṣājāt* is rightly preferred to *sājāt* or *sajjāt*. Indeed, I remarked to Aḥmad al-Hefny on these instruments being so named when I visited the Museum in 1932. *Ṣajja* ("to clang metal") is as old as the *Lisān al-'arab* and *Qāmūs*. *Sājāt* probably crept into use when *shuqaifāt* (wooden clappers) were made of the ebony-like wood called *sāj*. In his preference for "the modern term *kāsāt*" to represent "cymbals", rather than *ṣunūj* or *ṣaḥnān*, the author does not take cognizance that *kāsāt* were "bowl-shaped" instruments (see *The Legacy of Islam*, p. 374), whereas the *ṣunūj* were "plate-shaped". In modern usage *ṣaḥnān* may be described as "cymbalettes peuvent avoir la forme d'assiettes", but so far back as the *Ṣiḥāḥ* of Al-Jauharī (d. 1006) they were bowls or basins clashed together like cymbals. The long-necked string instrument of the pandore class he calls in Arabic *al-'ūd* (the lute) when *al-ṭunbūr* (the pandore) would have been preferable. One cannot be sure that all his oboes deserve the name, although here and there he does say "hautbois ou clarinettes".

HENRY GEORGE FARMER.

UR EXCAVATION TEXTS. III. BUSINESS DOCUMENTS OF THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR. By L. LEGRAIN. 1937.

Almost twenty years after the publication of *Ur Excavation Texts*, I, we have the present publication, for which students of the Third Dynasty have waited with great expectations. The number of texts, about 1,800, the excellence of the copies, the full indices, and the descriptive catalogue are very satisfying.

Of the 1,800 texts, 200 belong to the reign of Shulgi, 200 to the reigns of Bur Sin and Gimil Sin, and the large remainder to the reign of Ibi Sin. Dr. Legrain gives us the date formulæ for twenty-four years of Ibi Sin, which is the number of years assigned to this king on W-B. 444. This is a circumstance of the first importance. On similar texts from other sites, the last date of Ibi Sin is that of the third year. It may be that those sites were thereafter no longer ruled

from Ur. But why should political detachment from Ur result in the cessation of dated records? Or did the records continue dated with month and day only? It is interesting to note that there were communications between Ur and Adab in the ninth year of Ibi Sin (no. 1574), between Ur and Lagash in the tenth year (nos. 1009, 1312), and between Ur and Nippur in the eighth year (no. 1709).

How very local these records are! Compared with similar texts from other sites, the Ur texts contain very few references to other cities within Sumer or other lands outside it. For politics within and communications both within and without the kingdom, non-Ur texts are our chief source of information. And if we ask what was Ur, the capital, to citizens of other towns, it is disappointing that these new Ur texts provide almost no data on which an answer can be based. In general, it may be said, that they confirm one's impression that up to date it is not possible to write a history of Sumer and Akkad during Ur III. Local histories of three or four towns are all that the evidence would justify. And the more these local records are studied the more local they appear. For example: Ur was the capital city and Nannar was its god. Yet at Lagash, a few miles away, from which a great number of texts have been published, there is comparatively very rare mention of any offering to Nannar, and none to his consort Nin-gal. At Nippur, Enlil was god. By him the kings of Ur were called to office. Yet on these new texts from Ur, the only mention of an offering to Enlil is a gold ring, and his consort Ninlil is not mentioned, not even in personal names.

Because the texts are almost entirely records of day-to-day income and expenditure, and of labour, they tell us much of the material side of local life: of crafts and craftsmen, of materials and finished products, in metal, stone, and wood; of fields and agriculture; of comparative wages and prices. In the matter of religion, naturally the Ur texts contain not a few divine names, and some deities, e.g. LÀL, who occur elsewhere, during this period, only in personal names. The comparatively frequent mention of cult in honour of the god Ḫa-ni (there seems no good reason for the reading Ḫa-ià) adds materially to our knowledge of this minor deity.

The indices and vocabulary do not always agree with the descriptive catalogue. Here are some examples: A-há(ki) (p. 43), but Ahia (p. 251); gi-mun (?) (pp. 63 and 84), but gi-dim (p. 233), alan d. gú-ka (pp. 37 and 64), but "statue of AN-gú-dug$_4$" (p. 211);

ishib-d. Nin-esen+la (pp. 39, 106), but as a personal name: Me-, etc. (p. 248); shabra, diviner (p. 159), but shabru, treasurer, superintendent over the shrines (p. 196); d. nin-é-ni-ga (pp. 39, 168), but nin-é-ià-ga (pp. 201, 231). Among other inconsistencies are é-nunna (p. 7), gá nunna (p. 55), and on p. 181 the same signs are read SU-BU-shè, and kush-gíd-shè (cf. also pp. 155 and 120).

An interesting detail appears on no. 1777, which mentions a present of *king* Gimil Sin. The tablet is dated the VIth month of the 9th year of Bur Sin.

T. FISH.

KARATEPE KAZILARI. By Professor H. T. BOSSERT and Colleagues. Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlarindan. V. Seri, No. 9 (Published, 1950).

This first preliminary report describes the surface monuments and the results of early excavations on the hill-top of Kara Tepe, which overlooks the Jechan (Turkish Ceyhan) River, in Eastern Cilicia, about sixty miles from its mouth. Forty pages are contributed in Turkish by members of the expedition from the University of Istanbul, and much the same space is devoted to a translation into German. Of thirty-five plates, twenty comprise half-tone photographs of instructive sculptures; six represent Professor Bossert's study of some late Hittite hieroglyphs, in the light of a parallel inscription in Phœnician, and the rest are devoted to details and plans. The format is the large quarto of the Turkish Historical Society's series.

Though rather meagre, this volume introduces the first fruits of one of the most exciting discoveries of modern times. News of it reached England through *The Times* in the spring of 1948, followed soon afterwards by a stirring article by Harold Nicolson in *The Spectator*. We may assume that the story is too well known already to require more than a few lines now. Professor Bossert and his colleagues were guided to the site by a school master of Kaderli, whose name, Ekrem Kuşçu, should be remembered, for he had spent all his leisure of forty years in exploring the neighbourhood. An arduous journey was rewarded, in confirmation of a widespread rumour, by the sight of a forgotten stronghold crowning the hill, with a gateway lined with a perplexing medley of reliefs, a lion monument, and a great statue lying prone. The inscriptions tell us

that it was the seat (or summer resort ?) of one Asituwaddas, whose name has a suggestive Lydian sound (cf. Sadyattes). The carved representations of ships and of musical instruments, of partly Greek and partly Egypto-Phœnician affinity, seem to point equally to a date in the eighth century B.C. There appears mention also of "Danunim", as the people or district concerned. This recalled the Danuna of the Amarna Letters and other Egyptian texts freely equated with the Danaoi of Homer. A translation of the Phœnician text by Honeyman (in *PEQ*. for 1949, pt. 1), with direct reference to the city of 'Adn (? Adana), makes one wonder whether the two names were not interrelated, or whether one was parent of the other. It is interesting to note and may be significant that the mention of Danuna in the Amarna Letters and of Adania in a Hittite text both date from the thirteenth century B.C., though the latter may reflect an earlier context. A nearer and more contemporary allusion to the Danunans occurs in an inscription from Zenjerli, which regards them as a menace. There is no doubt, however, that a flood of light is being shed by these and later discoveries on the early Greek colonization of Eastern Cilicia.

From a recent article by Professor Gelb in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, it would appear that the two Karatepe texts though parallel are not strictly "bilingual", but they do confirm much of the earlier work of scholars in their attempts to decipher Hittite hieroglyphs, and add notably to the vocabulary of Hittite words.

Professor Bossert is fortunate is his helpers, who share to the full his enthusiasm and labours. Dr. Bahadir Alkim and Bayan Halet Cambel share with colleagues in Ankara the front rank in a brilliant group of the younger generation of Turkish archæologists. Their respective contributions to this volume on the excavations and the sculptures, as well as those of Ongunsu and Süzen on the architecture of the ramparts and other buildings, though brief, are objective and lucid. We shall all look for their detailed study of these and their later discoveries (of which rumour tells already). Professor Bossert contributes also a bibliography which will prove useful as the volumes grow. He has been commendably generous in circulating information, and numerous articles in different journals throughout the world have already discussed various aspects of these discoveries.

J. Garstang.

Kültepe Kazisi Raporu. 1948 (published 1950). Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlarindan. V. Seri, No. 10.

In this handsome volume Dr. Tahsin Özgüç follows up the Report for 1947 on the brilliant discoveries which he and his wife, Nimet Özgüç, have made in the *karum*, an ancient market-place, of Karatepe, some eleven miles from Kaiseri, in South Central Anatolia (Asia Minor). Most British and American readers will regret that there is no English version of the Turkish (pp. 1–103); but we note with anticipation that two later reports published in T.T.K. Bulletin XIV (on the current researches at Karatepe) do contain English renderings. Thirty-five half-tone plates of photographs illustrate the progress of the excavations and the position of the finds, and almost as many show on a generous scale the many beautiful and interesting pottery vessels and other products of the potter's craft. Ten more plates of drawings show the details of shape and design of these, and their equally generous scale will establish them as a reliable corpus indispensable to all students. The volume ends with a series of reconstructions and views of buildings, with a site-plan.

Most British readers will be familiar with the outline of these discoveries from progress reports in the *Illustrated London News* and elsewhere. The *karum* was founded by Assyrian traders who had peaceful relations with the native community on the great *tepë* which it partly encircled. Four building levels have been uncovered, and from two of these came an enormous number of business letters (in cuneiform script), as well as a number which contain historical allusions and mention of Assyrian kings, including Irišum and Ilušuma, predecessors of Sargon I of Assyria. A scrutiny of these documents and their synchronisms makes it clear that the *karum* dates from the twentieth century B.C. As the earliest assemblage of written records hitherto discovered in Anatolia, they not only present archæologists with a valuable and reliable datum line, *c.* 2,000 B.C., between the Copper Age and the Syrian Middle Bronze Age which is abundantly represented by the finds, but also separate what is at present pre-historic from the generations of local history which they reveal and the Early Hittite period which followed: but the full historical implication of these documents awaits their publication.

We congratulate Tahsin and Nimet Özgüç on their outstanding achievement, alike for the methodical and devoted work which

brought this valuable material to light, and for their prompt and lucid publications to which this notice does scant justice. Both are young and zealous—a happy augury for the future of Turkish archæology.

J. Garstang.

Essays and Studies Presented to Stanley Arthur Cook. Edited by D. Winton Thomas. Cambridge Oriental Series, No. 2. London: Taylor's Foreign Press, 1950. pp. ix, 123. 25*s*. net.

This volume of interesting studies by members of the Faculties of Divinity and Oriental Languages in the University of Cambridge was presented to that famous scholar, the late Professor Cook, on his 75th birthday.

There are two Old Testament essays. Principal Elmslie writes on *Prophetic Influences in the Sixth Century B.C.*, and concludes that "the energy manifested by the Jews from the sixth century was the outcome of comprehension and acceptance of both halves of the prophetic teaching—how rightly to think and how rightly to live". I. N. Schofield investigates the use of the expression "*All Israel*" *in the Deuteronomic Writers*, and fails to find uniformity of usage.

D. Diringer, in an article on *Early Hebrew Script versus Square Hebrew Script*, argues for a survival of the early script into Maccabean times due to Sadducean influence. It "was still in use among those sections of the population which were not under the influence of the Pharisees".

D. Winton Thomas, *Ostraca XIX–XXI from Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish)*, treats of three ostraca with fragmentary textual matter, which are additional to the eighteen known to scholars, and extracts from them everything of linguistic and textual value.

S. A. K. Glanville, in his *Notes on a Demotic Papyrus from Thebes*, of B.C. 265–4, deals with a deed of apportionment of house property by a woman in favour of her son.

C. P. T. Winckworth, *Some Notes on Late-Babylonian Orthography*, claims that the plural forms *iš-pu-ru-ni*, *iš-pu-ru-'*, *iš-pur-'*, and *iš-pu-ru-u* were all ultimately derived from the Old-Babylonian "ventive"-form *išpurūni(m)*, which in the Neo-Babylonian and Late-Babylonian spoken language became *išpurūn*, *ispurū'*, *ispurū*.

A. E. Goodman, in *An Examination of some Nestorian Kephalaia*

(Or. 1319, University Library, Cambridge), finds that there is at least presumptive evidence that Nestorius was the author.

J. L. Teicher, *Laws of Reason and Laws of Religion: a conflict in Toledo Jewry in the XIVth century*, reveals that the conflict was occasioned by the competition of Roman law, "the Catalan Jews used Roman law as their own."

E. I. J. Rosenthal has made a searching study of *Edward Lively: Cambridge Hebraist*, and gives an interesting account of this sixteenth-century scholar.

A. J. Arberry's article *Shahrastānī on Pre-Islamic Arabia* exposes Shahrastānī as a blatant plagiarist, his chapter on the beliefs and customs of the Arabs in the Period of Ignorance being a compilation of unacknowledged excerpts from other writers.

R. Levy, *A Persian Solomon*, quotes from the *Qābūsnāma* (A.D. 1082) some of the aphorisms for which Anūsharvān the Just (A.D. 531–578) was rightly famous.

Finally H. W. Bailey in *A Problem of the Kharoṣṭhī Script* shows that the sign for 1,000 had an Aramaic origin and represented the letters ALP.

EDWARD ROBERTSON.

ARABIYA. By JOHANN FUECK. (Abhandlungen der saechsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig; phil.-hist. Klasse Band 45, Heft 1.) pp. 148. Berlin, 1950.

Two subjects are combined here, Arabic literature and the language; the story of the literature is hackneyed but it is given life by the history of the language. The literature began in a highly inflected language of which the monuments were poetry and the Koran, and these continued to be the standard of speech, though intercourse with foreigners and the influx of converts tended to break down the system of inflections and to simplify the syntax of daily speech. By the end of the first century of the Hijra, poets employed incorrect forms and constructions; during the second century generations arose that knew not the nomads and their poetry, townsfolk who, enjoying a new civilization, aimed at "sweetness and light" in their literature. Grammar was systematized, largely by converts anxious not to disgrace themselves. The traditions of the Prophet illustrate the position. Some held that they were authoritative for language; others that only the

meaning mattered, that "the smell of a tradition was enough", and that there might be faults in grammar and style; some changed anything in them that offended good taste, while others corrected only what was believed to have been said by Muhammad himself. In the east, Persian was a second language for many, and one poem at least is macaronic. As Arabic spread local divergences arose and these were judged by the standard of the grammarians. The use of full inflections in conversation came to be looked on as pedantic. The nomad was no longer a guide to correct speech. By the fourth century the language of books should be called middle Arabic. These are the bones of a thorough and entertaining book.

A. S. TRITTON.

HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN EGYPT AND SYRIA UNDER THE MAMELUKE RULE. By E. STRAUSS. Vol. II, Jerusalem, 1951, pp. 561. In Hebrew.

This volume, the publication of which was made possible by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, maintains the high standard of scholarship and lucid Hebrew of the first volume (1944). It covers mainly the history of Jewish communities in Egypt and Syria in the later phase of the Mameluke rule, namely, that of the Burji or the Circassian Mamelukes (1382–1517). The author has tapped sources of diversified origin and language. Thus, he has made use of a great number of documents found in the Cairo Genizah, as well as of other documents and rare books in Hebrew, Arabic, Latin, Portuguese, and Persian, from the libraries of Constantinople, Madrid, the Vatican, Vienna, and Philadelphia. The author has also availed himself of letters written by Jews in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who, on their way to Palestine, visited Egypt. Due note has been taken of known and hitherto unknown Arabic chronicles, as well as of Christian works. On the whole, this volume uses Jewish sources more than does the first volume, and here the Responsa literature is of special interest. Some of the documents appear to be of doubtful historical value, but the author has sifted the material diligently and succeeded in shedding much light on an obscure period in Jewish history. We are promised a third volume which will include full indices.

M. WALLENSTEIN.

THE NOTION OF THE DESERT IN SUMERO-ACCADIAN AND WEST-SEMITIC RELIGIONS. By ALFRED HALDAR. (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1950: 3.) 9¾ × 6¼, pp. 76. A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, Uppsala. Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig. 1950. 4 kr.

In an investigation of passages from Sumerian and Accadian Tammuz-rituals the author traces the use of *edin* and some roughly parallel terms in connection with the Underworld. The wide range of meanings covered by *edin* and its parallels renders interpretation of the texts obscure, but some grounds are shown for the reconstruction of a ritual-pattern, based partly on historical events, in which the *edin* ("desert", "steppe", etc.), covered with verdure, is devastated by the god or by his enemies at the moment of his descent to the Underworld and is restored to fertility when the god triumphs over his enemies and returns to life.

Turning to Ugaritic literature, Dr. Haldar examines words of similar import in 'Al'iyan Ba'lu texts and finds probable traces of a similar ritual-pattern there.

In the Old Testament he is on more debatable ground. Parallels to Mesopotamian and Ugaritic ritual-patterns undoubtedly occur there and it can hardly be disputed that the Hebrews sometimes practised fertility-cults of Canaanite or Phœnician origin, presumably resembling those of Ugarit. Accordingly, although some of his interpretations are almost certainly too far-fetched, Dr. Haldar may well be right in postulating, in passages from Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Joel, the influence of the ritual-pattern and phraseology he is seeking and even direct quotations from rituals, but his ingenious attempts in the texts he selects to equate the "desert" with the Underworld and to show that Yahweh was sometimes regarded as a dying and rising god are never quite convincing. The devastation of the land of Israel or of adjoining countries by desert enemies or by Yahweh, and the restoration of it and the desert to fertility need have no connection with the pattern and phraseology of fertility-rituals. The author admits that real historical events are often referred to, though he rightly claims that this does not invalidate his theory.

Interesting new interpretations of Mesopotamian, Ugaritic, and Hebrew texts are given, as well as other valuable suggestions.

יסמון (p. 71) and *y'simōn* (p. 11) are incorrectly printed for ישמון and *y'šimōn*.

CECIL J. MULLO WEIR.

GESCHICHTE DER STADT SAMARRA. By ERNST HERZFELD. Verlag von Eckardt and Messtorff, Hamburg, 1948; Buchhand Lerischer Vertrieb Dietrich Reimer (Andrews and Steiner), Berlin, pp. 290.

This is the latest volume to appear in the series of reports on the Samarra excavations undertaken by Herzfeld and Sarre. Previous volumes have dealt with the stucco decoration, frescoes, ceramics, and glass and the pre-Islamic finds. Herzfeld planned to complete the reports with an architectural survey.

The present volume is devoted to the city of Samarra in its historical context. Ninety pages are devoted to the topography of Samarra and its surroundings, and an attempt to clarify the historical texts. A number of interesting and hitherto unpublished photographs of the Tigris landscape are included.

Perhaps the most interesting and valuable section is the chapter dealing with the 'Abbasid city. Here is a well documented account of al-Mu'taṣim's founding of the city. Herzfeld points out that al-Mu'taṣim's decision to quit Baghdad was dictated not only by the ever-increasing clashes between the Turkish guards and the populace of Baghdad, but also by the hostility of the latter to the Caliph on account of his Mu'tazilite tendencies. This is followed by a critical analysis of Ya'ḳūbi's description of the city, its quarters and thoroughfares; and a comparison with the excavated ground plan. Here is a rich store of material for the study of town planning in 'Abbasid times.

The third chapter deals with the historical personages of the 'Abbasid city; and a section is devoted to the reign and personality of each Caliph who resided in Samarra. It is a most useful account of the fortunes of the city and its inhabitants, set in the wider context of Islamic history. The hierarchy of court life from Caliph to dancing girl is vividly portrayed. The final section contains a series of inscriptions; forty-eight inscribed objects, and others from the Imam Dūr, the Ghaibat al-Mahdī and the inscribed ban on al-Mustanṣir's bridge at Ḥarbā.

It is to be regretted that the volume is produced without the maps, as was originally planned: the blocks were destroyed during the last war. But as compensation there are provided five aerial photographs (1 : 12,500,000) of the city in its widest extent which are very clear and bring out its principal features. It is a pity that a work so rich and varied in its material is not provided with an index.

R. PINDER WILSON.

Far East

CONFUCIUS—THE MAN AND THE MYTH. By H. G. CREEL. Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd. pp. xi + 337. London, 1951. 25s.

Attempting "to find the real Confucius", Professor Creel takes us behind the accretions of myth evident in all sources from Mencius onwards, to what he considers a genuine portrait drawn purely from the Analects and the unspotted early accounts.

The end is sound but obscured by such preconceptions as "Confucius'... ideal had considerable resemblance to that of modern democracy" (p. 229), and "for Confucius the State is a co-operative venture" (p. 242). Further, the nature of the Analects, with utterances often obscure or inconsistent, complicates the task. In place of architectonic consistency, there are *dicta* conditioned by highly differing contexts. For example, An. xii. 5 spoken to Szu-ma Niu, who was disturbed by the conduct of his brother Huan T'ui, is uprooted from its context as evidence for a "co-operative world" ideal. Nor is it helpful, arbitrarily to translate ambiguous passages such as An. 17. 5. in a manner best suited to the preconceived end. Might not *Tung Chou* be another reference to Confucius' inspiration, the Duke of Chou, and thus no evidence for his desire "to build up a new central authority to take the place" of the incompetent Chou house (p. 169)?

There are stimulating surprises. *Jen* is relegated to a footnote (p. 139); Mencius was a snob (p. 205); and the Sz-ma, since they were Taoists, wrote the biography "subtly and effectively to damn" Confucius (p. 270).

Creel shows us, with qualifications, Confucius the democrat. What will he be for a New China, that appears to take Mo-tzu for its Karl Marx?

G. BOWNAS.

Entretiens du Maître de Dhyāna Chen-houei (668–760). Par Jacques Gernet. Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient. Vol. 31. Hanoi, 1949. pp. x + 127.

In 1930 Dr. Hu Shih published at Shanghai four manuscripts from Tun-huang containing dialogues of the Chinese monk Shen-hui. The first three are in the Pelliot collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale, and M. Gernet has in about sixty passages been able to improve on Dr. Hu Shih's first, rather hasty, decipherment. The texts are to some extent fragmentary and often extremely difficult. M. Gernet's translation and commentary represent a valuable attempt to make them intelligible. But what is one to do with a passage like the stanza from the *Nirvāna Sūtra* (p. 16), which in the course of this scripture itself is explained in some thirty different ways? It is, in fact, a sort of riddle with an indefinite number of answers. M. Gernet's is not convincing. He translates *yu-fa* " il existe des *dharma* " ; but Buddhist dictionaries cite the passage as an example of the phrase *yu-fa* in the sense of " existing (as opposed to transcendental) *dharmas* ", thus taking *yu* as an adjective, not a verb. This, however, is an exceedingly able piece of work, by a young scholar of great promise.

Arthur Waley.

The Truth About Korea. By Robert T. Oliver. 8 × 5¼. pp. 178. Putnam & Co., Ltd. 1951. 10*s*. 6*d*.

The Koreans and Their Culture. By Cornelius Osgood, Professor of Anthropology, Yale University. 9¼ × 6. pp. xv + 387, 48 plates. The Ronald Press Co., New York, 1951. $5.

Dr. Oliver lived in Korea for years and was adviser to Syngman Rhee. His book would be more reliable if objective. He terms the banditry of a few thousand foreign Chinese in Malaya a rebellion. His picture of colonialism ignores such inconvenient details as the peace and material and intellectual betterment brought by the white man to large areas, and the 7 per cent interest that over a long period satisfied British and local investors in 200 Malayan rubber companies. Dr. Oliver has felt " enormous pride " to hear Americans praised by Asians for human decency and fair play. It may surprise him to learn that for thirty years I listened (not perhaps with the same naïvity) to Asians extolling the British for those qualities.

Very different is the unbiassed and informative volume by

Professor Osgood on Korean culture, which, he thinks, "may be held as one of the twenty-five great developments in the history of civilization." One-third of the book is the result of a lightning research tour through the summer of 1947, when the author was helped by two Korean students to investigate the social and economic life of a single village. The later chapters on Seoul and the ruling class, on the history and culture of the country, and on modern Korea, are based on exhaustive study of a surprisingly large number of sources. And the author is objective. "No hidden worm-wood has been added to confuse the mind and no aphrodisiac to excite the passions."

Professor Osgood dwells on the violence and sadism of the Korean but neglects the sense of fun which inspired what I saw on the walls of a monastery at the foot of the Diamond Mountains, a mural of a huge dragon pursuing a monk who had stolen his pearl! And lightning research leads to superfluities as well as to admitted deficiencies. The author shares, too, with British anthropologists a tendency to nod over grammar. "Living in a hinterland village of China," he writes (p. 10), "the practice of Buddhism became an essential part of the process of inculcating the anthropologist into Chinese culture"—but clearly not into English syntax!

R. O. WINSTEDT.

MALAY SAYINGS. By C. C. BROWN, Lecturer in Malay, University of London. pp. i–xvi + 274. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. 18*s*.

Excellent in format, contents, and scholarship, this volume should hold the field. Mr. Brown's great knowledge of colloquial Malay, especially of the Perak and Kelantan dialects, has enabled him to revise a fair sprinkling of readings and interpretations, and to add proverbs hitherto unrecorded, though for some reason he has omitted a few common sayings. Errors are rare. The two last proverbs on p. 108 imply a secret rather than a neat job. The saying, "when the plating disappears, you can see what is beneath," has no derogatory meaning: witness the quatrain *Hilang-lah sĕpoh, tampak-lah sĕnam, Itu-lah tanda ĕmas yang baik* (*Pantun Melayu* 1050, ed. Wilkinson and Winstedt). And I doubt Mr. Brown's *Kĕchil, kĕchil anak harimau* (p. 14), having always heard the intonation *Kĕchil-kĕchil, anak harimau* "though he is quite tiny, he's a tiger-cub".

Like the Malays themselves, unless they hail from Negri Sembilan, Mr. Brown is defeated by Minangkabau tribal sayings. *Bujur lalu, lintang patah* (pp. 95, 178, 204) is traditional advice to litigants and suppliants to observe correct procedure. *Bĕrtangga naik, bĕrjinjang turun* is recorded, and so translated, incorrectly (pp. 39, 96, 180). It should be *bĕrjanjang turun* and means that a petition goes up from lower to higher officials and an order comes down from higher to lower rungs (i.e. transmitters). *Janjang* in Minangkabau is the rung of a ladder to a loft.

R. O. Winstedt.

The Chinese in South-East Asia. By Victor Purcell, C.M.G., Ph.D. 8¾ × 6¾. pp. i–xxxvii + 1–801 and 2 maps. 50sh.

This encyclopædic survey is the result of intensive study of the history and social and economic position of the 8,500,000 Chinese in Burma, Siam, Indochina, Malaya, Borneo, Indonesia, and the Philippines. It is topical and has long been wanted. A general historical sketch is followed by chapters on the Chinese in the several countries, and the conclusion sets forth their position to-day, now that they may abandon their traditional indifference to the ownership of the cow, so long as they could milk her. The book is lively and easy to read. So far from being exhausted by a Sisyphean task, the author's energy leads him into such bypaths as an inquiry into the origin of the term Indonesia, the citation of an apposite illustration from Poe, and an amusing surmise as to the ways Gibbon, Mommsen, and Macaulay would have approached his task. A Sinologist writing on Chinese hardly perhaps appreciates to the full the embarrassment caused to many peoples by these indefatigable, hungry, good-humoured, laughing invaders. But the tributes to Chinese qualities (p. 663) are thoroughly deserved.

Xaquendarsa (p. 284) was the Parameswara, not his son, and the last Sultan of Malacca (p. 287) was not Mohamet but Mahmud.

R. O. Winstedt.

India

The Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosâcariya. Edited by Henry Clarke Warren and revised by Dharmânanda Kosambi. Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 41. 1951.

This edition of the Visuddhimagga was apparently ready for publication some twenty-four years ago. Now at last we have a

reliable text prepared by the unceasing labours of the unforgettable H. C. Warren († 1899), a text that will correct many faulty Pali Text Society readings which have escaped the notice of editors.

An introductory essay by Dr. Kosambi on the personality of the great commentator who goes under the name of Buddhaghosa, achieves what Finot had partly achieved in 1921 and disposes of the legend of Buddhaghosa's biography handed down in the orthodox tradition of Ceylon, proving conclusively that he was neither a brahmin nor a North-Indian. It is a pity that Kosambi's research did not appear when it was due to be published; for it might have prevented the misstatements about Buddhaghosa which have appeared since.

The volume is worthy of the Harvard Oriental Series, being beautifully printed, conveniently arranged (e.g. with regard to the division of each chapter into running paragraphs) and handsomely bound. The editors of the series, who are at the same time the trustees of the Henry Clarke Warren Bequest, deserve our warmest thanks for this ripe late-comer.

W. STEDE.

BENGALI LITERATURE. By J. C. GHOSH. Oxford University Press. 1948. pp. 188. 15s.

A concise book on the history of Bengali literature had long been overdue, especially as Dinesh Chandra Sen's monumental work is hard to get.

Dr. Ghosh stops at A.D. 1900, but an additional volume is promised. Of modern writers, Tagore is the only one treated at length. The very important Sarat Chandra Chatterji is referred to only in a couple of misleading sentences. Far from being divorced from Bengali life, as Dr. Ghosh alleges (p. 168), his works are rooted in it. They are written in a vivid style and with a deep and moving insight. Anything less "imported ready-made from third-rate European novels" could hardly be imagined.

Dr. Ghosh takes a rigid and rather narrow view of literary history, judging it apparently by standards prevalent twenty or thirty years ago, as the last off-shoots of the "l'art pour l'art" movement but, strangely enough, with a strong admixture of socialistic materialism. To apply those standards to a literature inspired till recently by quite different motives must result in distortion. And he over-

simplifies. "In the previous periods" (before 1800) "literature was the product of religious devotion untainted by pecuniary motives, and it had for that reason an idealism and spiritual freedom which is now lost. The economic freedom it gained no doubt brought many compensations, but for the average writer in a competitive capitalist society that freedom was more often than not an illusion which could only become a reality if the writer sacrificed his artistic conscience to the reader's taste" (p. 100).

This in no way reflects conditions in Calcutta during the first half of the nineteenth century, when practically all the authors who acquired fame were men of independent means with no need to write down to their public. Moreover, in the previous century Bharat Chandra Ray (1702–1760) was not the only poet (pp. 88–96) who lived by the grace of his patron's favour. "He was a court-poet and not infrequent are the occasions when he adopts the manner of a rakish courtier with slick jests on his tongue and given to winks and leers. It is the decadent courtier in Bharat Chandra who is responsible for the odour of decadence, of dying faith and morals that we sometimes perceive in his poem" (p. 94). Of it Dr. Ghosh writes: "Vidyâ-Sundar is a *fleur du mal*, but it is a beautiful flower all the same, bright-hued, many-petalled, and of perfect form. It is unique in our literature as a work of art, and we may say that, like love, poetry, too, came of age in Bharat Chandra's hands and became civilized and self-conscious." But then, this work belongs to a class of writings praised by Dr. Ghosh for "being secular" (p. 87).

Compare the evaluation of this secular work with what is said about the Gitagovinda, which though written in Sanskrit was the model of the greater part of the religious lyrics that were to be sung in Bengal for centuries to come, and a poem, moreover, that even in our days is the joy of the devout as far south as Travancore without losing anything of its freshness. "It sings of the love of Krishna and Râdhâ with an intensity of physical passion and with a wealth of sensuous imagery and verbal music of which there are but few equals in the world. All the same, it is a sick rose, sick with its own excess" (p. 28). This sick rose has managed to remain abundantly alive since the twelfth century.

A materialistic aversion from anything religious colours all Dr. Ghosh's statements (e.g. pp. 11, 15, 23). Mukunda Ram's epic in honour of the Goddess Chandî is "heavily encumbered with

mystical, mythical, and supernatural stuff" (p. 70). So Dr. Ghosh opines that the love-poems of the Vaishnavas can be best enjoyed if one considers their God, Krishna, as a human being: "The poets thought of Krishna as a God, but we enjoy their work better if we think of him as a man" (p. 63).

Is one justified in applying these personal preferences to literature sprung from deep religious conviction. Vaishnava mystics lay stress on the necessity *not* to take their poems in the physical sense. Chaitanya said: "Only when it is realized that there is no difference between man and woman can the true divine love begin to develop." What a world of difference there is between the lines :—

"My eyes cry for his beauty,
Every limb of my body cried for every limb of his,
My heart cries for the pressure of his heart" (p. 59)

applied to a girl longing for her lover or applied to the Soul crying for God. His misunderstanding of this kind of literature leads Dr. Ghosh persistently to refer to the myths of popular deities like Manasâ or Chandî as "fables". "The rustic snake-Goddess with broken hips and blind of one eye" may strike us as ridiculous and even revolting, but it is the duty of an author who sets out to write a literary history to try at least to understand the spiritual background of the literature in question.

The author's stress on the intimate interplay between Hinduism and Islam in literature is valuable. From the seventeenth century until quite lately Moslem poets write and sing about Krishna and Râdhâ and at the same time on Hatem Tai or Amir Hamza. One must be grateful to Dr. Ghosh for showing how in the rich culture of Bengal the two elements are inseparable.

The last section of the book, including the chapter on Tagore, suffers even more than the earlier parts from the author's strongly-coloured personal likes and dislikes.

A. A. Bake.

Introduction à l'Étude d'Avalokiteçvara. Civilisation du Sud. Par Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann. S.A.E.P. Paris, 1948. pp. 348 and 32 plates.

The origin and development of the cult of Bodhisattvas is obviously of the greatest importance for the history both of the Buddhist religion and of Buddhist art. Though they are dependent on each

other for progress, the material of the historian of art is much more accessible than that of the theologian or historian of religion. This is apparent in de Mallmann's book. In the first half she discusses seven representative texts, nine theories of the meaning of the Bodhisattva's name—adding one of her own—and finally the development of the cult and its relationship with non-Buddhist beliefs and religions in India and Persia. This is a useful compilation of widely scattered information, and it is no criticism of the author to say that one feels the lack of a full analysis of the Indian, Chinese, and Thibetan sources. The gathering of opinions on the meaning of Avalokiteśvara is also valuable, though the general method seems incorrect. This is a matter for the theologian, not the philologist. The last section is original and stimulating.

De Mallmann has called her book an introduction. Rightly as regards the first half, but with undue modesty as regards the second, which is wholly archæological, dealing with both the chronological and the stylistic or purely iconographical development of the Avalokiteśvara image. It is a full and exact account, covering the whole of North India and the Deccan from the first appearance of the Avalokiteśvara image in the art of Gandhara and Mathura of the second century A.D. to the fall of the Sena dynasty in Bihar in the early thirteenth century. The early period is naturally the most interesting, and the author's theory of the Buddha image in the Bodhisatva's headdress is most convincing and should be read in conjunction with her somewhat fuller treatment in *Indian Art and Letters*, New Series, vol. xxi, no. 2, 1947. It is to be hoped that the second volume on Avalokiteśvara in Greater India will soon appear.

DOUGLAS BARRETT.

LES INSCRIPTIONS D'ASOKA. Traduites et commentées par JULES BLOCH. 8 × 5, pp. 1–88 (single), 89–172 (double), 173–216 (single), and map. "Les Belles Lettres." Paris, 1950.

This manual is designed to put students of philology in touch with the work of the specialists and to give historians a trustworthy and easily accessible account of a group of documents of the highest importance for early Indian history.

This purpose has been amply and expertly fulfilled. We are not led to expect new matter, but the linguistic introduction contains much not found elsewhere even in the author's *L'Indo-aryen*.

The text of the edicts is arranged synoptically, a method not only convenient for comparison, but enabling one translation (with notes of variants) to serve for all versions. This appears on the page opposite to the text.

The footnotes are full and there is a word-index of 44 pages, with a map essential for any estimate of the relation between the various dialects of the edicts. Printing errors are rare and obvious.

In note no. 9, p. 103, *Soraṭh* (Saurāṣṭra) is wrongly identified with Surate (Surat), the city on the other side of the Gulf of Cambay.

ALFRED MASTER.

Archæology and Art

THE MAKING OF GREATER INDIA: A STUDY IN SOUTH-EAST ASIAN CULTURE CHANGE. By H. G. QUARITCH WALES. pp. 209, 1 plate. London: Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., 1951. 25*s*.

The author has set himself the task of tracing the evolution of the various art styles and, to some extent, of the religious concepts of Hindu-Buddhist south-eastern Asia by investigating the interaction of Indian influences and pre-Hindu cultures. His book thus is a study of acculturation on a grand historical scale, and the introductory chapter, explaining the principles and mechanism of culture change is a masterpiece and should be read by all students of anthropology.

The book abounds in excellent and sagacious observations, bringing many intricate problems nearer to a solution, and raising even more new ones. In a subject of such complexity and hitherto so little explored, there is bound to be some difference of opinion. Since the author has done me the honour of citing me in many passages and since he is following a line of research which I have, to some extent, helped to initiate, I may be allowed to indicate a few points on which I feel unable to agree with him.

Dr. Wales distinguishes between a western zone, including Burma, Central Siam, the Malay Peninsula, and Sumatra, and an eastern one, represented mainly by Java, Cambodia, and Champa. In the western zone, according to him, the "local genius" was completely destroyed by extreme Indianization, the result being "a purely colonial imitative culture" with art styles which are essentially no more than extensions of the Gupta, Pallava, and Pāla styles of India. On the other hand, we are told, Cambodia,

Champa, and Java were never completely Indianized. So the "local genius" survived and, gradually resurging, was able powerfully to mould the respective cultures and art-styles. The author is right in pointing out that the art of the western zone cannot compare in originality with that of the eastern. Yet, his theory of extreme Indianization does not convince me, and I doubt if any one familiar with the culture of Burma will concur in his view. He is to be credited with having pointed out an important problem, but the solution is still to seek.

The author tries to prove that the "local genius" which guided the evolution of Cham art was based on the late Bronze Age Dongson culture and on surviving Chinese influences of the Han period. There can be little doubt that he is right, even though his argument might be questioned with regard to minor details. However, I cannot agree that the "local genius" which moulded Khmer culture and art was that of the "older megalithic culture" outlined in some of my papers. I do not deny that the pre-Hindu culture and art of the Khmer contained "megalithic" elements, which are almost ubiquitous in south-eastern Asia, but I can't see no evidence of their having ever had a full megalithic culture. It is argued that whatever stone monuments once existed in the plains of Cambodia were destroyed and used as building material during the almost two millennia of the historic period. Why then, may we ask, have no stone monuments been reported from among the related tribes in the neighbouring hills, where there was no incentive to use them for the building of stone temples or other structures of a higher civilization? I am fully prepared to revise my view if megalithic monuments of the respective type should be discovered in south-eastern Indo-China, but I cannot see how the terraces and stepped pyramids of the Khmer could be derived from megalithic terraces and pyramids, the nearest of which are found at a distance of many hundred miles, in the hills of Burma and Assam. It seems to me that the author's theory is based mainly on two errors. One of these is his acceptance of Paul Mus' theory about sacrifice which, although ingenious and possibly correct with regard to some more evolved cultures, is incompatible with what we know about the older megalithic cultures of south-eastern Asia. The author further considers the idea of the cosmic mountain as centre of the world and of the magic importance of the four quarters as having been

introduced by way of the megalithic cultures. This idea is totally foreign to the genuine megalithic cultures of south-eastern Asia and opposed to their very spirit.

I hope that these criticisms will not be taken to be disparaging. In a brief review, no adequate idea can be given of the many subjects the author handles and often brilliantly discusses. Particularly the passages on the several waves of Indian influences, the importance of the Pāla style, on Javanese influence in Indo-China, the relations between Java and Bali, the "Indo-Malaysian image style", and the development of early Khmer architecture are excellent. Despite all the objections that can be raised—the author himself is not at all dogmatic. This is one of the most stimulating books written on "The Making of Greater India". It is certain that its influence will be felt in future research.

ROBERT HEINE-GELDERN.

CATALOGUE OF SASSOON CHINESE IVORIES. Compiled by S. E. LUCAS. 15½ × 11½. 3 vols. with plates (of 966 pieces). Country Life, Ltd., London; Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1950.

These three massive folio volumes are a notable addition to the scanty literature of Chinese ivories, and their compilation must have entailed many years of patient application and research. Mr. Lucas is concerned not with archæological, æsthetic, or technical problems, but almost exclusively with the subject-matter of the carvings, the average quality of which is exceptionally high. During the earlier reigns of the Manchu Dynasty ivory became the medium of a lively popular art. Votive statuettes and other objects of religious use, implements for the scholar's table, such as brush-pots and hand-rests, as well as purely ornamental objects, vases, plaques, and so on, were carved in a great variety of form and decoration. The subjects are taken for the most part from illustrations to devotional books, tales of the marvellous, and favourite romances.

Each object in the catalogue is illustrated by one or more excellent half-tone plates, and the scenes portrayed are identified, described, and explained. The chief value of the work therefore is that of a repertory of myth, legend, and folklore for the collector.

The student will find that not a few of the explanations, especially those of religious and philosophical ideas, are too superficial for his

needs, and on controversial matters dogmatic statement generally takes the place of reasoned argument. For instance, all the ivories in this great collection are ascribed to one or other century, from the thirteenth to the nineteenth, usually without reservation, but no indication is given of the criteria on which the ascriptions are based. Again, the collection includes some 200 figures of Lo-han, nearly all identified by name with individuals in a particular series of the Five Hundred. Yet we are shown a group of figures stated to comprise a complete set of the much more familiar Eighteen, followed by the laconic remark that their names are unascertainable. This surely requires elucidation. The translations of poems and other inscriptions are often unnecessarily free and sometimes unaccountable. On the other hand, the thousands of Chinese names and phrases, romanized and in characters, are transcribed with commendable care, and the proof-reading alone must have been a formidable task.

The work will certainly arouse fresh interest both in Chinese ivories and in the many problems of subject-matter in Chinese art.

S. Howard Hansford.

Byzantine Mosaic Decoration. By Otto Demus. Kegan Paul, 1948 (for 1947). 10 × 7½. pp. 97, pl. 64. £2 2*s*.

Although in the early middle ages mosaic decoration was used on the walls and vaults of buildings over a very wide area reaching from Northern France to the Hejaz, the total number of examples was apparently never very large and the traditions regarding the Great Mosques alike of Cordoba and of Medina make it clear that this splendid art was thought of as something specifically Constantinopolitan. Unhappily, the mosaics extant and visible in Constantinople are confined to two buildings, of which those in Hagia Sophia were very ill-known until a beginning was made with uncovering them shortly before the late war, while those in the Kahrie Jami are the latest and oddest of all the important series. Under the circumstances there was a temptation to treat all surviving mosaics, wherever found, as "Byzantine", and much deplorable confusion has been the result. Dr. Demus in his extraordinarily interesting book has taken a stand against this tendency. He has first analysed the governing principles of the art, as practised at Constantinople during its greatest period, which can be deduced

from the famous and almost complete decorations of the eleventh- and early twelfth-century churches of S. Luke, in Stiris, the Nea Moni in Chios, and Daphni, in Attica. These three were monasteries of Imperial foundation, in provincial areas where no continuous local school of craftsmen in this rare and expensive art is thinkable: their mosaics can therefore fairly be taken as representing Constantinopolitan work. The analysis is entirely convincing; though without a profound knowledge of Greek religious writers it is difficult to be sure whether all the ideas which (on the evidence of the monuments) seem to have moved the artists and their patrons were widely and above all consciously held and understood. The second section of the book is concerned with the relationship of the Constantinopolitan conception of mosaic decoration thus isolated to earlier and to provincial work. The contrasts are brought out with such telling effect that, as so often when faced by a really masterly study, one is abashed at not having realized the position before. The third, short section dealing with the influence of mosaics of the "classic" period on later art and in particular with the mosaics of the Kahrie Jami is less definitive than the rest, since the question, here important, of relations with Italy is not fully considered. It is, however, packed with valuable ideas: and Dr. Demus, who has since brought out a study of the mosaics of Norman Sicily, will no doubt in due course fill in this gap and enable us to have as clear an apprehension of Byzantine monumental art in the thirteenth century as this book gives us for the eleventh and twelfth.

CHRISTOPHER HOHLER.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN INDOCHINA. By O. R. T. JANSE. Vol. II. pp. i–viii + 1–300, with plates 1–40 and i–iii (coloured). Harvard University Press. 1951.

This second volume gives a valuable description of the finds in the Chinese tombs and kilns that were surveyed in the equally sumptuous first volume. It is rightly claimed that they throw light on the southern area of Chinese civilization and reveal far-flung commercial and cultural relations. Dr. Janse is interested mainly in China, and though he goes as far as Assyria for parallels to a Han cosmic tree, he seldom looks for parallels to Malaya or Indonesia. The design on a Han tomb-brick (p. 48) is closely followed on a

painted Kayan houseboard in the British Museum, and its cosmic tree occurs with sun and cock on Sumba cloths, nearer to the widely spread examples of this *motif* from the steppes from not having undergone transmutation by the lively Chinese genius; Dr. Janse appears not to have come across *Documents pour l'art comparé de l'Eurasie Septentrionale*, by M. Leroi-Gourhan. Spool-shaped cornelian beads are common in Malaya as well as Indochina. And prehistorians in Malaya and Indonesia will be interested in the suggestion that the stone shouldered axe of East India, China, and Siam may be a copy of the Chou bronze axe (p. 114).

R. O. WINSTEDT.

Islam

CONVERSION AND THE POLL TAX IN EARLY ISLAM. By DANIEL C. DENNETT, JR. Harvard Historical Monograph No. XXII, 1950. pp. xi, 136, including bibliography and index. 16*s*.

In this attractive little book Dr. Dennett, whose untimely death will be regretted by all, not only brings together in a lucid sequence much material—new and old—regarding the system of taxation imposed by the Arabs on the Sawād, Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, and Khurāsān, but challenges many of the conclusions reached by Wellhausen, Becker, and other scholars. Whether or not the terms *kharāj* and *jizya* bore the technical meanings of land tax and poll tax respectively, as well as tribute and tax in a general sense, from the very first—as Dr. Dennett maintains—he seems to show conclusively that they were used in these senses at an earlier date than that postulated by Wellhausen; while the emphasis he puts on the fact that the settlements made by the Muslims were not uniform, but differed from country to country and locality to locality, according to the circumstances of the conquest or reconquest, is also in place. Again, he makes out an interesting case for his thesis concerning the position of the convert to Islam *vis-à-vis* his co-religionists on the one hand and the Muslim treasury on the other. Elsewhere, however, Dr. Dennett seems to press his theories to unwarranted lengths—e.g. in the wholeheartedness of his exculpation of the Muslim jurists of the second century of the charge of "attributing institutions of recent origin to the first caliphs in order to justify existing practices".

J. N. D. ANDERSON.

ISLAM: BELIEF AND PRACTICES. By A. S. TRITTON. London, Hutchinson's University Library, 1951. pp. 200. 7s. 6d. net.

Professor Tritton has had a difficult task. To condense can be as difficult as to expand, and the author's problem here has been not merely to decide on what to put in but to determine what to leave out. All the time he must have been conscious that someone or other would find fault with his choice. That he has made such a success of his task is much to his credit.

Among the subjects handled are Muhammad and the Koran, Pillars of Islam, Hadith and Sunna, Beliefs, Law, Sects, Mysticism, State, Social Life, Modern Movements. Professor Tritton has maintained a just balance in his treatment of the individual subjects, and the overall picture never becomes lop-sided. It would have been so easy to enlarge in some directions, e.g. on Mysticism. Islam being a religion with a strong emotional content has produced some 200 mystic orders. The author contents himself with mentioning sixteen and briefly describing four of the most important.

Islam is a religion with vitality and a very considerable hold on its adherents. It has its missionary organizations with headquarters in India, and it has as its annual tonic the pilgrimage to Mecca. Its contribution to shaping the destiny of the human race is significant. It is a religion which merits and repays study and, in contrast to the Christian polemical literature of earlier days, demands a sympathetic and authentic presentation. The reader will look for such treatment here, and not in vain.

Professor Tritton's book, for the category of readers for which it is designed, is a reliable guide. Behind the conciseness is a mass of learning, the extent of which the specialist can appreciate, and which in others should inspire confidence.

There is a useful glossary as well as a bibliography and an index.

EDWARD ROBERTSON.

ṢŪFISM. By A. J. ARBERRY. pp. 141. Allen and Unwin. 8s. 6d. London, 1951.

This is the first history of Ṣūfism to be written, and though brief it is very welcome, giving as it does a picture of Ṣūfism from its earliest beginning and tracing its development through the centuries to its greatest attainments.

Dr. Arberry defines Ṣūfism as the mystical movement of an uncompromising monotheism, and does not deal with the influence upon it of other religions among which it had its rise, though recognizing that these determined its growth. He gives an account of the ascetics and mystics of Islam, of the theory and practice of Ṣūfism, the Ṣūfī orders, the development of Ṣūfism into a theosophy, sometimes pantheistic, and an account of the Persian poets, with some fine and stirring translations. Undoubtedly there is corruption in modern so-called Ṣūfism, yet real Ṣūfism is still widely studied in Islam and recognized as a sure way to God.

MARGARET SMITH.

Miscellaneous

LA RENAISSANCE ORIENTALE. By RAYMOND SCHWAB. pp. 521. Paris: Payot, 1950.

Published at this juncture a book with such a title might seem to deal with the awakening of Asia; in fact its author, whose interest in *orientalisme* is clearly as wide as it is profound, presents a detailed history of the effect upon the West of the discovery of Oriental civilizations, a discovery to which he rightly ascribes the commencement of a second Renaissance. For him the East is predominantly India, and no *indianiste* will quarrel with his neat explanation of India's peculiarity on p. 15. He portrays the deep ignorance of the West before the deciphering of scripts that awakened European interest late in the eighteenth century and early in the nineteenth century, and excited curiosity and speculation among the literary giants of the Continent. This is the first connected and comparative account of the individual contributions of early orientalists, and is enlivened by many details of their private lives; moreover, it is a sympathetic, though loosely documented, analysis of an important influence on the Romantic movement, which despite its present unpopularity in this country has long demanded research of this character. The abundant Gallic generalizations merely authenticate M. Schwab's title to undertake this large and valuable work: the curious enthusiasms to which the partial discovery of Vedic and Avestan "truths" gave rise being best described by an enthusiast and a poet.

Perhaps the author has attempted to cast his net a trifle too wide, but numerous conclusions are quite convincing: of the attitude

of the British nation to oriental research and its failure to exploit its initial advantages we are given a clear if sorry picture; the zeal and voluminous production of French orientalists is exhaustively demonstrated.

Where the broad is all-important, it would be idle to cavil at occasional vagueness or deficiencies. But one looks in vain for an account of the work of that remarkable Italian *indianiste*, Beschi (Vīramahāmuni); of his compatriot Gorresio one would willingly learn more, and Colebrooke's more valuable (and more lasting) contributions in the legal field get less than their due credit.

J. D. M. Derrett.

OBITUARIES

Sir William Foster, C.I.E.

The death of Sir William Foster on 11th May deprived the Society of the greatest authority on early Anglo-Indian history who has ever lived. He joined in 1909, served on the Council four times and as a Vice-President, and contributed occasional reviews and notes to the *Journal*, besides, in 1924, a description of the Society's pictures. Born in 1863, the son of a Civil Servant, he was educated at the Coopers' Grammar School and London University. He entered the India Office in 1882. His achievements owed much to the devoted help and encouragement of Lady Foster, daughter of the Rev. H. W. Holland, whom he married in 1911.

Almost throughout his official life he worked on the East India Company's archives. Fortunately for scholarship, Sir Arthur Wollaston, when Registrar and Superintendent of Records, gave him scope to begin the monumental calendar, *The English Factories in India*, of which he edited thirteen volumes. He became Wollaston's assistant in 1901, and succeeded him in 1907. In 1923 the post of Historiographer was temporarily revived in his honour; he held it until his retirement (1927). It is impossible even to enumerate his publications here; the British Museum catalogue contains thirty-five entries under his name. For the Hakluyt Society, of which he was Secretary (1893–1902) and President (1928–1945), he edited nine volumes, the last appearing in 1949. To an archivist's patience and exactitude he added a sense of proportion (which kept any suspicion of pedantry from his writings, however learned), and a rare gift for presenting complicated facts lucidly and attractively. His annotations to the numerous works he edited were clear, concise, and invariably useful to the reader. His wide knowledge was always at his command and at the disposal of the many who sought his help and enjoyed his fascinating conversation.

C. F. Beckingham.

I. Y. Krachkovsky.

(10th March, 1883–24th January, 1951.)

Academic career: in 1905, graduated at the Faculty of Oriental Languages of St. Petersburg University; gold medal for the diploma work "Reign of the Caliph al-Mehdy according to the Arab sources". In 1914, dissertation for the grade of magister on "'Abu-l-Faraj al-Wa'wā of Damascus". In 1918, professor at the above-mentioned faculty. In 1921, member of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

A man of vast erudition, knowing twenty-six languages, the brilliant pupil of such great orientalists as S. Oldenburg, N. Marr, P. Kokovtsov, and Baron V. Rosen, Krachkovsky early discovered his vocation for Arabic studies and deliberately limited his great productivity to this sphere, considering Arabic literature his speciality. Except perhaps when dealing with modern Arabic literature, he tended to avoid larger problems, preferring to treat limited questions or single personalities. He excelled in monographs, very often in the form of short articles, characterized by the thoroughness of their documentation, the precision of their arguments, and the studied moderation and carefulness of their conclusions. A just appraisal of his contribution to knowledge presupposes a detailed familiarity with all aspects of his work, and such an appraisal is hardly possible abroad even as regards his published works (in 1936 they totalled more than 366), since many are not available outside Russia. A final judgment will be possible only after investigation of what, like his translation of the Qur'an, is left unpublished, and when the conditions under which he worked are known. For these reasons the following remarks are necessarily superficial and of a preliminary character.

Krachkovsky's greatest achievement was his contribution to the study of modern Arabic literature. His stay in 1908–1910 in Arab countries and his personal contacts with some Arab writers certainly helped him in this work. His last and greatest work *Arabic Literature in the XXth Century*, appeared in 1946. In studying ancient Arab literature, especially poetry, he made a psychological approach, trying to penetrate the creative genius of a given author. But his contributions to almost all other branches of Arabic studies were hardly less substantial, especially his papers on the history of the Arab world and culture, historical geography (particularly as relating to the ancient history of Russia), philology, especially that

of modern dialects, the Arabic language in north-east Caucasus, and the history of Arabic studies in Russia, to which he devoted his last work, *Sketches on Arabic Studies* (1950). After the end of the last war he published his *Reading Arabic Manuscripts*, being his memoirs as an Arabist, in which he showed himself a writer of great talent.

In 1947 the semi-periodical publication, *Soviet Oriental Knowledge*, issued by the Oriental Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, devoted a special number (Nr. IV) to celebrate the forty years of his scholastic activity, in which the first articles paid homage to the independence of his views and to his goodheartedness as colleague and teacher.

It is not surprising that not only did he succeed in replacing Baron V. Rosen as head of Arabic studies in Russia, but almost from the beginning of his appointment as professor he created his own school of Arabists: everything which was achieved there in this sphere was done under his direct guidance. The history of Arabic studies in Russia since 1914 is the history of his scholastic activity.

L. BOHDANOWICZ.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on 10th May, 1951, with the President (Sir Richard Winstedt) in the chair.

The Annual Report of the Council was laid before it and passed.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL, 1950–51

One Honorary Member died: Professor I. Y. Krachkovsky.

Four Members died: Miss O. Bodé, Professor A. H. Harley, Messrs. C. N. Seddon, and Bertram Thomas.

Thirteen Members resigned: Messrs. L. P. Elwell-Sutton, C. J. Gadd, S. Hillelson, R. le May, J. A. B. Palmer, A. T. Tibi, E. W. Trotman, T. P. Tunnard-Moore, Lady Hosie, Mrs. H. M. Tabor, Mrs. S. Young, Miss M. D. Butes, Miss V. Waterhouse.

Forty-three were elected Members: Sir E. Millington-Drake; Professors J. E. Hoffmann, V. V. Varma, and R. E. Mortimer Wheeler; Drs. K. Biswas, V. K. Bhatnagar, C. Hooykaas, A. F. M. K. Rahman, L. Sammy, and I. Sternbach; Major F. S. Fripp; Captain K. L. Bhai; Meer S. Basri; Syed Mahomed Zaki; Messrs. S. K. Balbir, A. J. Cameron, G. Campbell, Abu'l-Kassim Fazeli, C. S. Franklin, H. Ganguly, M. F. Griffith, D. M. Horsburgh, V. Kamath, M. G. A. Khatib, S. A. Khatib, D. Kelvin-Stark, O. C. Meronti, A. W. Murrell, R. M. Ormsby-Martin, K. N. P. Nair, S. K. R. Parivrajak, S. V. Pathar, Shukar Pratap, M. Joseph Raja, C. A. R. Rattanam, W. T. Reid, H. E. Richardson, A. Safrastian, S. D. R. Singam, D. L. Snellgrove, D. Sumithra, P. N. Tandon, K. B. Tripathi, F. J. Tritsch, Akhil Venoy, Abu Ahmed Czill-al-Waheed, and K. R. Willingham, Mrs. Lakshmi Sinha, and Miss I. W. de S. Jayatileke.

Grants.—A grant of £500 was received from the British Academy, of which £200 was for arrears. £100 was paid by Pakistan, being for 1949 and 1950. The Federation of Malaya gave a grant of £46, and Singapore paid £28 for 1949 and 1950. Hongkong paid £5. The Minister of Education for India has generously approved a grant of £200 per annum, and paid £400 for 1949 and 1950.

Lectures.—Sir Charles Fawcett lectured on the "Abbé Carré, Colbert's envoy to India"; Lieut.-Col. Kenneth Cantlie on a "Visit to Nepal"; Raden Ayu Jodjana on the "Dances and Drama of Java"; Lady Drower on "Ancient Middle Eastern Themes in Modern Custom and Ritual"; Dr. A. Waley on "An eighth century Chinese Poet in Central Asia"; Mr. A. Lane on

"Islamic Pottery of the Near East"; Sir John Pratt on "China To-day"; and Dr. Maurice Hastings on "The possible Eastern origins of the Gothic style of architecture". Mr. M. Lerner showed a coloured film on India, Burma, Thailand, and Ceylon.

Universities Prize Essay.—The alternative subjects were "Anglo-Russian rivalry in the Middle East, 1856–78" and "Trade between Europe and the Far East before the Fifteenth Century." The prize was awarded to Mr. J. G. Morrell, Wadham College, Oxford, for his essay on the former subject.

Gifts.—Lady Gait kindly presented prehistoric Indian beads and bronze celts, together with rhinoceros trophies.

Mr. B. W. Robinson generously defrayed the cost of binding and repairing pages and miniatures of Persian MS. 246, the *Panj Ganj* or *Khamsah Niẓāmī* (A.H. 927).

Publications.—In the press was *The Significance of Prefixes in Sanskrit Philosophical Terminology* by Dr. B. Heimann. The second volume of *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, by Professor F. W. Thomas was published.

Committee for Cultural Relations with India and Pakistan.—Sir Ralph Turner represented the Society temporarily until Mr. A. Master was appointed.

The Society was again indebted to Sir Nicholas Waterhouse for the audit of its accounts, and to Mr. D. H. Bramall, M.B.E., T.D., of Messrs. T. L. Wilson and Co., its Honorary Solicitor.

The Hon. Treasurer said that the year's financial results were modestly good, with a slight increase in revenue and less expenditure on repairs to their premises. Subscriptions had increased, a promising feature, but unfortunately the cost of their *Journal* was going to rise too. However, they might expect to live within their means, a rare event for Societies to-day.

Moving the adoption of the Report, Professor G. R. Driver emphasized the important work done by the Society in promoting knowledge of the East and in fostering cultural relations with Asia. He noted the gratifying increase in membership but hoped everyone would try to obtain yet more recruits, as the costs of maintaining learned societies and printing a journal was increasing.

In seconding, Mr. J. H. Lindsay expressed pleasure over the year's accounts, but added that receipts were abnormal and expenditure below the average. He concluded by paying tribute to the untiring work of the President, the Secretary, and Miss Fell.

Officers and Members of Council

The following were elected unanimously on the recommendation of the Council :—

As Hon. Vice-President.—The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Scarbrough, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

As Vice-Presidents.—Sir Atul Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., LL.D.; Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.; A. D. Waley, Esq., M.A., LL.D., F.B.A.

As Hon. Officers.—L. D. Barnett, Esq., C.B., F.B.A., Litt.D. (*Librarian*); E. B. Howell, Esq. (*Secretary*); C. C. Brown, Esq. (*Treasurer*).

As Members of Council.—Sir Patrick Cadell, Kt., C.S.I., C.I.E., V.D.; Professor E. D. Edwards, M.A., D.Lit.; Professor H. A. R. Gibb, F.B.A., M.A.; Professor R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, C.I.E., M.C., F.B.A., F.S.A., D.Lit.; R. E. Enthoven, Esq., C.I.E.

As Hon. Auditors.—R. E. Enthoven, Esq., C.I.E.; J. V. Mills, Esq.

Alteration of Rule 19.—It was resolved that in that Rule 17 should be changed *passim* to 16.

The President said that the year had been uneventful. At present financially sound, the Society needed funds to reward the loyalty and tireless industry of the staff with appropriate salaries, to enlarge the *Journal*, and to maintain and expand the Library. The Society's life, like that of most learned Societies, was as austere as that of the family of the Vicar of Wakefield, whose only migrations were from the blue bed to the brown. Its great migration had been the move from Grosvenor Street, a change approved by the most conservative. For the Society was rather conservative. In fact, having achieved a centenary, it resembled an elderly lady, hardly conscious of living in purdah, deaf to ideological and political warfare, but with a keen ear for Chinese tones and Arabic gutturals.

Orientalists were unworldly folk, with too much knowledge of history to want to tamper with politics, but ready to move mountains to discover if Java man had reached the social height of being a ritual cannibal. Generally, however, before one took up oriental studies one had to consider a career. And the changing face of Asia had daunted many a potential orientalist.

Scholarship, if a gossamer thread, was the one unbreakable bond between East and West. Of that thread the Society was a well-tried strand. It was to be hoped that no neglect of Oriental studies or any other accident would interrupt its endless task of exploring Asia's treasure-house of knowledge. He was delighted to see that of its forty-three new members, twenty-eight were Asians.

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions—						
Fellows	428	8	0			
Non-Resident Members	386	8	0			
Students and Miscellaneous	17	19	7			
Non-Resident Compounders	12	0	0	844	15	7
Grants—						
British Academy	500	0	0			
Government of Pakistan	100	0	0			
" " Malaya	46	0	0			
" " Singapore	28	0	0			
" " Hong Kong	5	0	0	679	0	0
Rents Received				938	10	0
Journal Account—						
Subscriptions	467	16	0			
Sale of copies and offprints	106	6	10	574	2	10
Interest on Investments				283	15	8
Sale of Catalogue				11	6	10
" " Centenary Volume					5	6
" " Forlong Fund Books, Commission on				7	9	3
Royalties				122	9	9
Sundry Receipts				15	5	10
Sale of African Books				25	0	0
Balance on 31.12.1949				819	3	5
				£4,321	4	8

General Account Investments

£777 1s. 1d. 4% Funding Loan 1960–90.
£2,396 5s. 3d. 3% Funding Loan 1959–69.
£4,453 17s. 4d. 3% British Transport Guaranteed Stock.
£5,000 3% British Electricity Stock.
£1,162 17s. 5d. 3½% War Stock.

Compounded Subscriptions Account Investment

£996 11s. 3% British Transport 1978–88.

Note:—

At the end of the year the sum of £317 8s. 2d. was outstanding as a liability to be transferred to a separate compounded subscriptions account.

PAYMENTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House Account—						
Rent and Tax	350	0	0			
Rates	321	0	11			
Gas and Light	115	11	2			
Coal and Coke	76	8	9			
Telephone	16	8	10			
Cleaning	18	14	1			
Insurance	77	19	6			
Repairs and Renewals	68	8	1	1,044	11	4
Salaries and Wages				1,217	3	0
Printing and Stationery				109	10	4
Journal Account—						
Printing	242	4	9			
Postage	21	2	0	263	6	9
Library Expenditure				11	9	6
General Postage				40	16	5
Sundry Expenses—						
Teas	30	1	11			
Lectures	24	0	0			
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	30	16	8			
Fee for Audit	8	8	0			
General	82	1	3	175	7	10
Balance on 31.12.1950						
On Current Account	1,462	5	6			
Less due to James G. B. Forlong Fund	8	13	6			
	1,453	12	0			
Cash in hand	5	1	11			
„ „ Post Office Savings Bank		5	7	1,458	19	6
				£4,321	4	8

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described and hereby certify the said Abstract to be in accordance therewith.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
3 Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, E.C. 2.

Countersigned { R. E. ENTHOVEN, Auditor for the Council.
J. V. MILLS, Auditor for the Society.

8th October, 1951.

SPECIAL FUNDS, 1950

Oriental Translation Fund

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance, 1/1/50	474	5	2	Subsidy towards printing Vol. XXXVI	100	0	0
Sales	45	16	7	Rental of Type	3	3	0
Interest on Deposit Account		6	0	Sundries		1	6
				31/12/50 Balance carried to Summary	417	3	3
	£520	7	9		£520	7	9

Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance, 1/1/50	270	10	11	31/12/50 Balance carried to Summary	292	5	0
Sales	21	14	1				
	£292	5	0		£292	5	0

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES 31st DEC., 1950

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Oriental Translation Fund	417	3	3	Cash at Bank—						
Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund	292	5	0	On Current Account	649	8	3			
				On Deposit Account	60	0	0	709	8	3
	£709	8	3					£709	8	3

TRUST FUNDS, 1950

Prize Publication Fund

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance, 1/1/50	383	11	11	Author's Royalties	97	7	4
Sales	77	3	7	Sundries		1	0
Dividends	18	0	0	31/12/50 Balance carried to Summary	381	7	2
	£478	15	6		£478	15	6

Gold Medal Fund

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance, 1/1/50	54	5	5	Cash Award	25	0	0
Dividends	9	15	0	Token Medal	7	10	0
				31/12/50 Balance carried to Summary	31	10	5
	£64	0	5		£64	0	5

Universities Prize Essay Fund

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance, 1/1/50	230	19	6	Cash Prize	20	0	0
Dividends	20	15	4	31/12/50 Balance carried to Summary	231	14	10
	£251	14	10		£251	14	10

Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance, 1/1/50	281	12	9	31/12/50 Balance carried to Summary	309	18	7
Dividends	10	18	7				
Income Tax Rebate	17	6	3				
	£309	18	7		£309	18	7

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES, 1950

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Prize Publication Fund	361	7	2	31/12/50 Cash at Bank on Current Account	954	11	0
Gold Medal Fund	31	10	5				
Universities Prize Essay Fund	251	14	10				
Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account	309	18	7				
	£954	11	0		£954	11	0

TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Prize Publication Fund) ("B" account).
£325 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Gold Medal Fund) ("A" account).
£645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund) ("B" account).
£40 3½% Conversion Stock ("B" account).
Rs. 12,006 3% Government of India Conversion Loan 1946 (Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account).

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND, 1950

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance 1/1/50		1	0	Balance, 31/12/50	1	3	8
Dividends	1	2	8				
	£1	3	8		£1	3	8

INVESTMENT

£48 16s. 9d. 3% Funding Stock 1959-69.

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND, 1950

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance, 1/1/50	1,743	11	0	Purchase of £1,051 8s. 7d. Brit. Elec. 3% Govt. Stock, 1968–1973				1,005	14	7
Sales	89	13	5	School of Oriental and African Studies— Scholarships				316	18	4
Dividends and Interest	148	17	1	Fee for Income Tax Claim				5	5	0
Income Tax Rebate	142	16	2	R.A.S. 10% Commission Sales 1949				7	9	3
				Sundries					1	6
				Balance— Cash at Bank on Current Account	399	12	0			
				Add: due from General Fund Account	8	13	6			
					408	5	6			
				Cash in P.O. Savings Bank	376	8	6	784	14	0
	£2,119	17	8					£2,119	17	8

FORLONG FUND INVESTMENTS

£2,017 11s. 3d. 3% Savings Bonds 1960–70.
£1,217 2s. 8d. 3% Treasury Stock.
£700 3½% Conversion Loan ("A" account).
£45 East India Railway Co. Annuity Class "B".
£253 18s. 4d. 3½% War Stock ("A" account).
£1,051 8s. 7d. British Electricity 3% Guaranteed Stock, 1968–73.

I have examined the above statements with the books and vouchers and hereby certify the same to be in accordance therewith. I have also had produced to me certificates in verification of the investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor,
3 Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, E.C. 2.

Countersigned { R. E. ENTHOVEN, Auditor for the Council.
J. V. MILLS, Auditor for the Society.

8th October, 1951.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

'Abd al-Razzāq al-Hasanī. al-Yazidiyyūn fī hādirihim wa-mādīhim. *Sidon*, 1951. *From the Author.* [93 B]

Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Atti. Ser. 8, Vol. III, fasc. 1–12. Vol. 4, fasc. 1–6. Rendiconti. Ser. 8, Vol. V, fasc. 3–12. Vol. VI, fasc. 1–4. *Rome*, 1950–51. *Exchange.* [168]

Acta Orientalia. Vols. 19, 20 and 21, part 1 and 2. *Leyden*, 1941–46. *Copenhagen*, 1950–51. *Exchange.* [125 C]

Aldred, C. Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt, 2300–1590 B.C. *London*, 1950. *From Messrs. Tiranti, Ltd.* [31 B]

Ali, Mohamed Fahmy. Muslim Sea-Power in the Eastern Mediterranean. 1950. *From Messrs. Luzac and Co.*

American Oriental Society, Journal of the. Vol. 70, Nos. 2–4. Vol. 71, Nos. 1, 2. *Baltimore*, 1950–51. *Exchange.* [127 E]

American Schools of Oriental Research. Supplementary Studies. Nos. 7–9. Annual, Vols. 15–18. *New Haven*, 1950. *Exchange.*

Ancient India. No. 5. 1949. *New Delhi*, 1950. *Presented.* [31 J]

Al-Andalus, Vol. 15. *Madrid*, 1950. *Exchange.* [117 F]

Anklesaria, B. T. Pahlavi Vendidâd (Zand-î Jvît-Dêv-Dât). *Bombay*, 1949. *From Parsee Punchayet.*

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